



**This electronic thesis or dissertation has been
downloaded from Explore Bristol Research,
<http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk>**

Author:

Nassali-Lukwago, Rose

Title:

Working towards gender parity in education in developing countries : issues and challenges.

General rights

Access to the thesis is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International Public License. A copy of this may be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode>. This license sets out your rights and the restrictions that apply to your access to the thesis so it is important you read this before proceeding.

Take down policy

Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions prior to having it been deposited in Explore Bristol Research. However, if you have discovered material within the thesis that you consider to be unlawful e.g. breaches of copyright (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please contact collections-metadata@bristol.ac.uk and include the following information in your message:

- Your contact details
- Bibliographic details for the item, including a URL
- An outline nature of the complaint

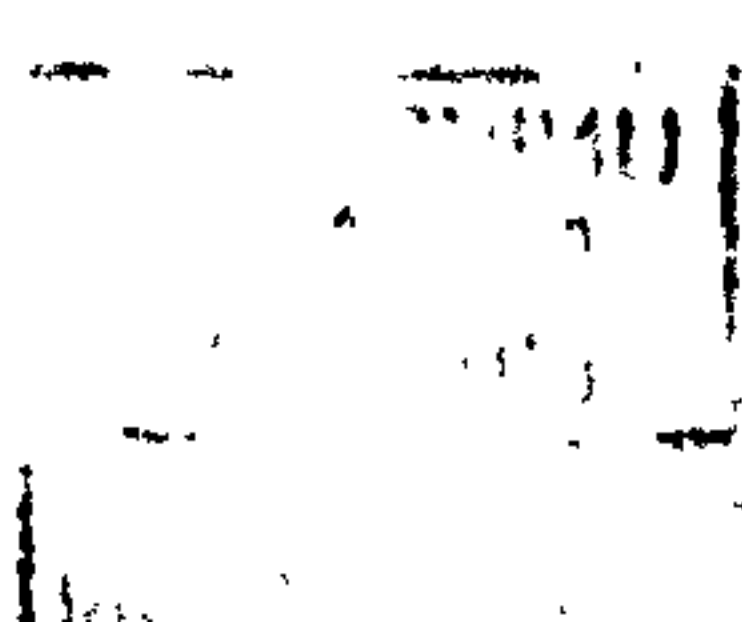
Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item in question will be removed from public view as soon as possible.

**WORKING TOWARDS GENDER PARITY IN EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES.**

ROSE NASSALI-LUKWAGO.

**A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Education in the Faculty of Social Sciences,
School of Education.**

May 1998



ABSTRACT

This study was based on the present writer's perception that inequality in education is a result of people's negative traditional cultural attitudes to girls and women and that, to provide equal opportunities for both girls and boys, there is a need for changes in the primary and secondary school curricula that will alter peoples' attitudes. The thesis of this dissertation is that equal opportunities policies are often based on developed countries' models, recommended for implementation in developing countries' education systems by funding and research bodies. These policies do not take into account the perceptions of the key players in the implementation process and how their perceptions might influence the success or failure of intended measures to provide equal opportunities in education for boys and girls. It is hypothesised that in Uganda, the government has chosen affirmative action policies to reduce gender inequality in education but, from the perceptions of the key players, they have had unexpected consequences which reinforce past patterns of advantage and disadvantage for the targeted group. The advantages and disadvantages are grounded in the contradictory and paradoxical outcomes of internationally and nationally recommended educational policies. This is because policies deal with only one aspect of educational inequality, which is perceived in terms of girls' non-participation in education (access, enrolment and retention). They ignore the attitudinal problem, which is an outcome of the socio-economic, socio-cultural, and school related factors which not only further disadvantage girls but boys as well, thus creating more inequalities.

The study focuses upon a cross-section of those who inform and implement policies in the Ministry of Education, those who implement policies at the district and school level and those whom policies target in the classroom. The data, which is selectively quoted in the study, was derived from standardised open-ended elite and group interviews. Key players' perceptions, which impact on the provision of equal opportunities in education, are discussed in relation to international and national policies in education. Particular attention is paid in the study to understanding key players' perceptions of the meaning of equal opportunities in education. This was considered as central to the successful implementation of equal opportunities measures in a way that will not disadvantage any group. It soon became clear from the perceptions on equal opportunities held by key policy makers and implementers in the Ministry of Education and at the district levels, that the problem was not changing attitudes, but increasing access, enrolment and retention for girls within the system of education. At the school level, the problem involved increasing: enrolment; retention; academic competition between boys and girls; participation of girls in school leadership; interaction; and strategies to reduce discrimination practices between boys and girls by their teachers. These perceptions were reflected in individual schools. Implications for theory and practice of equal opportunities in education are drawn from findings from the study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This academic journey was made possible through the support and encouragement of many people. I am grateful to all of them and wish to record my sincere gratitude.

I am indebted to the Kulika Charitable Trust, who awarded me the scholarship to study. I gratefully acknowledge the professional and administrative support of Mr. Andrew Jones. I am also thankful to the Ministry of Education in Uganda for allowing me to go on a long fully paid study leave.

I thank Dr. Valerie Hall the director of the Ed.D programme and also my dissertation advisor for her scholarly support, guidance and encouragement throughout the course of this study.

I am also grateful to all my module tutors, the library and administrative staff of the Graduate School of Education for their unfailing support.

I wish to also thank my friends within the research students' community, who were there for me with words of encouragement especially when the going got tough.

I am also grateful to all the research respondents at the Ministry of education, District and School levels in Uganda, who willingly participated in this study. Special thanks go to Dennis Bataringaya for his valuable assistance during and after my fieldwork especially in obtaining literature and other policy documents, which were beyond my reach as a researcher/over-seas student.

I wish to record my sincere thanks to Hillary Dachi a fellow research student, for his scholarly and constructive criticism during the last leg of this study.

My eternal gratitude to my parents Mr. and Mrs MSB Lukwago, and Aunt Theo for their love and unfailing support throughout this journey. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to all those relatives and friends in Uganda who kept my spirits up by constantly keeping in touch.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby confirm that the work presented in this dissertation is mine, and that it has not been submitted for a degree or an award at any other university.

.....

Rose Nassali-Lukwago.

Date.....

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
ACFODE:	Action for Development
MoES:	Ministry of Education and Sports
EPRCR:	Education Policy Review Commission Report
MoE:	Ministry of Education
UNESCO:	United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organisation
FAWE:	Forum for African Women Educationists
UEC:	Uganda Education Commission
CIDA:	Canadian International Development Agency
PHC:	Primary Health Care
FL:	Family Law
AE:	Agricultural Economics
HE:	Home Economics
NCDC:	National Curriculum Development Centre
UNEB:	Uganda National Examinations Board
CE:	Commissioner for Education
DEO:	District Education Office(r)
UN:	United Nations
UK:	United Kingdom
GCSE:	General Certificate and School Education
GNP:	Gross National Product

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION.....	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	iv
Chapter One.	2
INTRODUCTION.	2
BACKGROUND AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY.....	2
AIMS OF THE STUDY.	3
RESEARCH QUESTIONS.	4
RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY.	4
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK.....	5
METHODOLOGY.	6
FORMAT OF THE STUDY.	7
CHAPTER TWO.....	10
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	10
INTRODUCTION.	10
THE PHENOMENON OF GENDER INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION.	11
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GENDER GAP.	11
DETERMINANTS OF THE GENDER GAP IN EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.....	15
<i>Socio-economic determinants.....</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Social and cultural determinants.</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>School related factors.....</i>	<i>18</i>
THE CONCEPT OF GENDER IN EDUCATION IN UGANDA.	19
DETERMINANTS OF GENDER INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION IN UGANDA.....	19
<i>Social and cultural determinants.</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Education system-based factors.</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>Socio-economic factors.</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>School related factors.....</i>	<i>27</i>
'EQUAL' OR 'EQUITABLE' OPPORTUNITIES IN EDUCATION: WHAT CHOICE FOR UGANDA?	30
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE REVIEW.....	36
CHAPTER THREE.....	39
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	39

INTRODUCTION.	39
METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION.....	39
RESEARCH DESIGN.....	44
RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	44
RESEARCH POPULATION.....	45
SAMPLING PROCEDURE.	47
RESEARCH TECHNIQUES.	48
<i>Standardised open-ended interviews.</i>	49
<i>Elite interviews.</i>	50
<i>Group Interviews.</i>	51
GAINING ACCESS.	52
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	54
THE RESEARCH PROCESS.....	55
DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE.....	60
STRENGTHS OF THE STUDY.	64
LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.	65
CHAPTER FOUR.....	68
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS.....	68
STUDY POPULATION CONTEXT.	68
<i>Commission for Education (CE).</i>	68
<i>National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC).</i>	68
<i>Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB).</i>	68
<i>District Education Office (DEO).</i>	69
<i>School level (primary and secondary schools).</i>	69
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS.....	70
THEME 1: PERCEPTIONS OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN EDUCATION.....	71
<i>Sub-theme 1 (a) Equal opportunities in access and enrolment.</i>	74
<i>Sub-theme 1 (b): Equal opportunities in enrolment and retention.</i>	76
<i>Sub-theme 1(c): Equal opportunities in addressing discrimination practices between boys and girls.</i>	78
<i>Sub-theme 1(d): Equal opportunities in competition between boys and girls..</i>	80
<i>Sub-theme 1(e): Equal opportunities in leadership.</i>	82
THEME 2: PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER INEQUALITY AS A CONTINUING PROBLEM.....	84
<i>Sub-theme 2 (a): Problem of enrolment.</i>	85

<i>Sub-theme 2 (b): Problem of retention.....</i>	<i>86</i>
<i>Sub-theme 2(c): The problem of discrimination between boys and girls.....</i>	<i>87</i>
<i>Sub-theme 2 (d): The problem of over protection of girls.</i>	<i>89</i>
<i>Sub-theme 2 (e) Inequalities in academic performance.</i>	<i>91</i>
THEME 3: PERCEPTIONS OF CAUSES OF INEQUALITIES.	92
<i>Sub-theme 3(a): Social causes.....</i>	<i>93</i>
<i>Sub-theme 3 (b): Cultural causes.</i>	<i>94</i>
<i>Sub-theme 3(c) Economic causes.</i>	<i>95</i>
<i>Sub-theme 3(d): Physiological and biological causes.</i>	<i>96</i>
<i>Sub-theme 3(e): Attitudinal causes.</i>	<i>97</i>
THEME 4: STRATEGIES TO PROVIDE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN EDUCATION.....	98
<i>Sub-theme 4(a): Access and enrolment.</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Sub-theme 4(b): Retention.</i>	<i>101</i>
<i>Sub-theme 4(c): Interaction.</i>	<i>101</i>
<i>Sub-theme 4(d): Academic competition.....</i>	<i>102</i>
THEME 5: PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER INEQUALITY AS A PROBLEM WITHIN OR OUTSIDE THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.....	103
<i>Chapter Five.....</i>	<i>109</i>
<i>Discussion of Findings.....</i>	<i>109</i>
INTRODUCTION.	109
THE PARADOX OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN UGANDA.	110
<i>Figure 5.1: The spectrum of equal opportunities in education.</i>	<i>111</i>
<i>The paradox of access.</i>	<i>111</i>
<i>The paradox of enrolment.....</i>	<i>123</i>
<i>The paradox of retention.....</i>	<i>129</i>
CHAPTER SIX.	135
<i>Conclusions: Working Towards Gender Parity in Education.</i>	<i>135</i>
ISSUES TO BE CONSIDERED.....	135
CHALLENGES TO BE CONSIDERED.....	138
THE POTENTIAL FOR QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FOR GENDER STUDIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.....	139
<i>References.</i>	<i>144</i>
<i>APPENDICES.</i>	<i>154</i>

<i>Appendix 1. Table 1.1 (a): National level Enrolment in Government Aided Primary schools by Class: 1983-1995 (thousands).....</i>	<i>155</i>
<i>Table 1.1 (b): National level Enrolment in Government Aided Secondary schools by class: 1983-1995 (thousands).....</i>	<i>155</i>
<i>Appendix 2. Figure 3.1: Categories of people at each level.....</i>	<i>157</i>
<i>Appendix 3: Table 3.1 (a): District level Enrolment in Government-aided primary schools by class, gender, and district 1994, 1995 (thousands).</i>	<i>158</i>
<i>Table 3.1 (b): District level enrolment in government-aided secondary schools by class, gender and district (thousands).....</i>	<i>158</i>
<i>APPENDIX 4: THE STANDARDISED OPEN-ENDED ELITE AND GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULES.</i>	<i>160</i>
<i>Interview schedule for respondents in the Commissioner for education's (CE) office</i>	<i>160</i>
<i>Interview schedule for respondents in the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC).....</i>	<i>162</i>
<i>Interview Schedule for respondents in the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB).</i>	<i>163</i>
<i>Interview schedule for respondents in the District Education Offices (DEO)..</i>	<i>164</i>
<i>Interview Schedules for primary and secondary school head teachers.</i>	<i>165</i>
<i>Interview schedule for groups of teachers (male and female).....</i>	<i>166</i>
<i>Interview schedule for groups of primary school pupils.....</i>	<i>167</i>
<i>Interview schedule for groups of secondary school pupils.</i>	<i>169</i>
<i>Appendix 5. Table 3.2: The researcher/researched relationship in research. .</i>	<i>170</i>
<i>Appendix 6. Figure 3.2: Miles and Huberman's three-stage procedure.</i>	<i>171</i>
<i>Appendix 7. Table 3.3: MoE level.</i>	<i>171</i>
<i>Appendix 8. Table 3.4: District level.....</i>	<i>171</i>
<i>Appendix 9. Table 3.5: Categories of the research population at the school level.</i>	<i>172</i>
<i>Appendix 10. Figure 3.3: Categories of research population by sex across all levels.....</i>	<i>172</i>
<i>Appendix 11. Table 4.15: List of paradoxes.</i>	<i>173</i>
<i>Appendix 12: Table 6.1 (a) Drop outs in Government-aided primary schools by class, gender and district, 1995 (thousands).....</i>	<i>175</i>

<i>Table 6.1 (b) Drop-outs in government-aided secondary schools by class, gender and district, 1995 (thousands).</i>	<i>175</i>
--	-------------------

Chapter One

Chapter One.

INTRODUCTION.

Background and scope of the study.

The extent of gender inequality in education in Uganda can be gauged from the decision of the government to put women and girls on the political agenda. Through the Ministry of Education and Sports, other government departments, non-governmental organisations such as USAID, UNICEF, and ACFODE, and academics, the government of Uganda has aimed to improve the situation for girls and women in education. According to the MoES (1993) the government created the Ministry of Gender and Community Development with the aim of creating machinery that would spearhead the integration of gender issues into the development process. Through the Directorate of Gender, the ministry was mandated to co-ordinate and to facilitate the development of gender-oriented policies and programmes for implementation by line ministries, that have a direct bearing on women. Policies and programmes were reviewed. The gender implications of the current policies and programmes were analysed to draw up strategies and major policy recommendations to overcome gender inequalities in the education system (MoES, 1993:5).

However, in spite of the policies and strategies, which have been recommended and implemented, the gender gap in education is still wide. This was observed from both international and Ugandan literature and policy documents as shown below:

- persistent focus on girls in the policy documents and action plans to provide equal opportunities in education in Uganda. This has resulted in featuring girls and equal opportunities as a political strategy;
- emphasis on girls' education by aid donor agencies, international and national conferences and workshops on women's issues (the Beijing Conference in 1995 and the Nairobi conference 1984), which shows that the problem of inequalities in education between boys and girls is global;
- parents' resistance to government efforts to induce them to send children to co-education schools, shown by their willingness to finance the education of their children in the existing single sex schools; and
- persistent poor examinations results for girls compared to boys.

These problems and many others not listed here, suggest that equal opportunities in education are yet to be provided to either boys or girls.

The problem as perceived by the present researcher (see appendix 1) is that policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for both boys and girls do not address peoples' attitudes to gender and education which are the major cause of inequality. The researcher is of the view that curriculum changes to address negative traditional cultural attitudes to gender can contribute towards reducing inequality in educational opportunities. This view is based on several assumptions:

- boys' and teachers' attitudes and behaviour towards girls in the class rooms affects their academic progress;
- instituting affirmative action policies fail to accord girls with the same privileges and advantages as boys;
- implementing what Wolpe (cited in Cole 1989) calls 'do-able tactics' (like more co-education schools and discouraging use of sexist language) based on a western framework can be made to work in the Ugandan context. However, differences resulting from traditional cultural attitudes to gender and education can not be absorbed into this imposed western framework; and
- educating girls is an investment. Keeping them longer in school results in positive effects like reduced fertility and population rate (Verspoor 1990). That benefit will not be realised if more emphasis is placed on girls and less on boys.

These assumptions led to the identification of social, economic and cultural factors as the main determinant of negative attitudes towards girls and education, and therefore the sources of resistance to the successful implementation of programmes policies to reduce inequality in the provision of opportunities in education between girls and boys.

Aims of the study.

In the light of the perceived problems of gender inequality, resulting from peoples' attitudes towards girls and education, the present study aims to:

1. examine from the perceptions of the key players whether there is a national problem of gender inequality which requires the implementation of equal opportunities policies in education for girls and boys;

2. determine, in the light of national and international policies in education, the attitudes and beliefs of the key players in the policy implementation process about equal opportunities in education for girls and boys;
3. apply qualitative research methods to establish, from the perceptions of the key players, what strategies have been employed to reduce gender inequality in education, and to evaluate their potential for gender studies in developing countries;
4. recommend, basing on key players' perceptions of equal opportunities in education, the development of programmes in the curriculum that will focus on changing people's traditional cultural attitudes towards gender and education;
5. document and access key players' perceptions and how they might influence the implementation of equal opportunities policies for girls and boys;
6. develop a critique of the impact of equal opportunities policies in education on girls and boys' different educational experiences in the light of international literature and the analysis of data; and
7. explore the theoretical implications which arise from the study.

Research Questions.

Drever (1995) stated that when you want to get information, canvass an opinion or exchange an idea, the natural thing is to talk to people. Therefore to fulfil the above stated aims, the study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What has been done so far from the perceptions of the key players, in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?
2. In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender, what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?

Rationale for the study.

Studying gender inequality in education is important in the light of the Uganda government strategy to put girls and women on the political agenda. This initiative reflects an equity/equality paradigm, which has generated equal opportunities policies, which are embodied in the government's policy on gender (EPRCR, 1992; MoES, 1993). However, policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for boys and girls are adopted for implementation from international, national and

academic recommendations. Studies that lead to these policies do not consider the perceptions of the key players involved in the policy implementation process. As a result, the part their perceptions of equal opportunities policies play in the successful or unsuccessful implementation is not illuminated.

These studies are based on a positivist research tradition whose methods of collecting information on equal opportunities in education do not illuminate what has been and what has not been done to provide equal opportunities from the perspectives of the key players in the implementation process. For instance information may be collected from girls only and not boys; from women only and not men; from policy makers and implementers and not those whom policies target; or from the policy-targeted group and not those who inform and implement policy in education. The result therefore is a lack of direct linkage of information from the key players, which inhibits mapping out areas of resistance to change as well as strategies to address them.

Policy recommendations in education do not take into account the perceptions of the key players but are based on findings reflecting researchers' and funding bodies' perceptions of the problem, which are often designed to suit a particular international or national policy agenda. Most important policy and strategy recommendations are based on a quantitative research tradition, whose investigations may result in the development of specific policies within contexts of influences in and around the policy elite. Qualitative research based studies, as Maguire and Ball (1994) argue, follow and analyse particular policies involving the micro-politics of the initiative, the interplay between the key actors involved in introducing, adapting and interpreting the policy, extending to the actual initial implementation of the policy. Using a qualitative approach according to Maguire and Ball, makes a study important for national and international educational policy makers to be more aware of the strength and contribution of qualitative research methodologies to their understanding of the effect of key players' perceptions of educational policies on the implementation process.

Theoretical and conceptual frame work.

The persistent focus and emphasis of instituting 'do-able tactics' (Wolpe, cited by Cole, 1989), to improve girls education led to the conviction of the present researcher that the problem of gender inequality was embedded in people's traditional cultural attitudes to gender. This problem further resulted into the conviction that these

negative attitudes are not considered from the perspective of the key players when drawing up policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for boys and girls. Failure to take into account the perceptions of the key players within the policy and strategy implementation process would run the risk of falling victim to the researcher/policy recommendation syndrome. There is evidence to suggest that policies to reduce gender inequality are driven by ideologies that are not informed by an understanding of peoples' reactions to policies, as a result of their cultural attitudes and beliefs; key players' perceptions of policies relative to the problems policies target; and the outcome of those policies and strategies. Therefore this study uses a grounded theory research approach to explore key players' perceptions of equal opportunities policies, relative to the role of schools and curriculum changes, in the light of national and international policy recommendations to reduce gender inequality. The theoretical framework for the study was also derived from international and Ugandan literature on gender and equal opportunities in education. In the light of this literature, it was deemed necessary to explore the concepts of 'equality' and 'equity' in education to determine which concept would work best for Uganda in the provision of equal opportunities for girls and boys.

Methodology.

The methodological framework for the study was informed by a feminist research paradigm. In particular, it draws on Stanley and Wise's (1983) recommendation to include men in research on women, as they are participants in the social reality, which creates conditions for gender inequality. However, there is growing concern among feminist researchers over the shifts in research context and what constitutes adequate research as a basis for mapping change. This makes developing appropriate strategies for change in promoting gender equality in schools difficult. Although I am not a feminist, my concern is to examine ways of providing equal opportunities for both girls and boys in education in a way that addresses traditional cultural attitudes to gender. A traditional feminist approach to research on its own, focusing on women and inequality in educational opportunities, was seen to be generalising across societies of different social, economic and cultural backgrounds. It was therefore deemed to be inappropriate for this study as it would continue to highlight gender inequality within societies, but not reveal the meanings behind the inequality gap in a way that could lead to measures that will reduce the imbalance. My stand therefore is

concerned with studying boys and men alongside girls and women, in issues of gender and equal opportunities in education. Consistent with this concern, the study adopts a post-positivist research approach, informed by the feminist approach. The rationale for the choice of research method was also guided by the foreseen extraneous variables, which the researcher could not have controlled under a feminist paradigm. This included:

- methods for gaining access to research participants. I used the letter from the Commissioner for Education in the MoE, granting me access to do research and copied to all the research population requesting them to assist me. In this instance, I did not share the attitudes, beliefs, feelings and concerns of the participants at the national district, and school levels towards the research process. Therefore this situation may, as Scott (1985) puts it, have encouraged an unhealthy separation between those who know and those who do not, which runs contrary to the principle and practice of feminist research; and
- methods for selecting participants for the group interviews, at the school and classroom levels. Except in one school, the interviewees were chosen by others, not the researcher. They were therefore likely to be whoever was available at the time, regardless of whether he or she wanted to do the interviews.

In the same vein, a positivist approach would not have been appropriate to explore key players' perceptions of gender and equal opportunities in education. This does not mean however that qualitative research methods are without limitations, as it is discussed in Chapter Three.

Format of the study.

A framework for the study is presented in this chapter. Chapter Two reviews the literature, which provided the framework for the research and sensitised the researcher to key aspects of gender inequality and policies on equal opportunities in education for girls and boys from national and international perspectives. In the light of this literature review the framework, which guided the study, was developed. Chapter Three discusses the research methodology and data collection methods, underpinning the study. Chapter Four presents the data derived from standardised open-ended elite and group interview transcripts. This data is organised around themes and sub-themes, which emerged from the grounded theory method of analysis proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Chapter Five picks up the issues, which emerged from the analysis

and contextualises them within a framework for providing equal opportunities in education for girls and boys from the developed and developing countries' perspectives. Chapter Six draws out the implications of the study for those who inform and implement policy in education and the potential for qualitative research for informing gender studies. Lastly a list of the references used and the appendices are included.

Chapter Two

CHAPTER TWO.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.

Introduction.

Within and across developing countries, literature on gender and equality suggests points of similarities and wide differences in the factors, which determine gender inequality in education. On the basis of these similarities, donor and funding agencies like the World Bank and UNESCO recommend education policies based on developed countries' models for implementation in developing countries. The review argues that these policies do not take into account the differences in the determinants of the gender gap between developed and developing countries. The review also argues that these policies do not always take into account how the key players perceive and influence the implementation process.

A range of literature from both the developed and developing countries on gender and equal opportunities in education was consulted to provide a framework for analysing perceptions of equal opportunities from the perspective of the key players in the policy implementation process and how they contribute to the continuing gender gap. This review does not attempt to address all the factors that create the gender gap in education, but to provide readers with a 'road map' derived from others' research and analysis of the endless problem of gender inequality in education. Four themes are critically explored in the review, namely:

- the phenomenon of gender inequality in education;
- determinants of the gender gap;
- the concept of gender in education in Uganda;
- the concepts of equal and equitable opportunities in education in the light of providing equal opportunities in education for both boys and girls.

The purpose of highlighting these concepts is to determine the context within which equal opportunities policies in education should be formulated and implemented, in Uganda and in other developing countries.

Several limitations of the review are noted. Most of the literature on developing countries is derived from surveys funded by agencies like the World Bank and UNESCO and depends on the same pool of data. Critics like Bowman and Anderson

(1982) have maintained that UNESCO data on enrolment for most of the Third World provide information only on short-term trends. This makes it outdated and the conclusions unreliable, as some may have been missing at the time of going to press. The literature surveyed draws heavily on the positivist research paradigm, which highlights the measurable aspects of inequalities and not the un-measurable aspects, which are equally important in explaining the persistence of the gender gap in education. The rationale for the choice of literature from both developed and developing countries is that it identifies issues in different contexts, which are likely to be faced in the policy implementation process.

The phenomenon of gender inequalities in education.

This section highlights differences in the perception of gender inequality in education in both the developed and developing countries, to provide a framework for analysing the gender gap in developing countries, particularly Uganda.

Characteristics of the gender gap.

Several models have been used to explain gender inequality in the developed and developing countries. One of them is Fagerlind and Saha's (1989) model, which argues that the most basic characteristic of the gender gap concerns access or equality of educational opportunity. Access is taken to refer to the opportunity to participate in education and the availability of facilities which, in many countries, are not distributed equally between men and women and rural and urban areas. Davies (1994), however, questions this approach when she defines access as the right to attend an educational institution. The distinction between the two approaches is that Fagerlind and Saha's model refers to access as a 'negotiable' enterprise, whereas Davies' perspective refers to 'access to education as a right, it is non-negotiable'. Both definitions however are influenced by the ability of the key players in education policy formulation and implementation process to provide equal opportunities in education for all.

Fagerlind and Saha's second model for explaining educational inequality concerns participation, or the extent to which individuals and groups enrol in and attend formal educational activities. King and Hill (1993) consider inequality in terms of gender disparity in primary and secondary school enrolments and the gender gap is the ratio of female to male enrolment at the primary and secondary school levels,

whichever is smaller. Kelly (1987:98) questions these models. She argues that opening schools does not entirely solve the problem of female enrolment. Women's school attendance is also based on the types of schools available and whether they are acceptable in peoples' traditional cultures. Fagerlind and Saha's model therefore depends on an interplay of factors like the types of schools (single sex or coeducation) provided, their costs and parents' traditional attitudes to gender and education.

Fagerlind and Saha's (1991:171) third model for explaining gender inequality in education involves the extent to which teachers and administrators treat girls and boys equally. Streaming, curriculum track, attention giving and stereotyping are examples of differential treatment received by students, which affects their academic performance. Discipline, boys' and teachers' sexist attitudes and behaviours towards girls, male dominance over girls in terms of a language of sexual abuse, physical harassment and colonisation of girls' space through sitting arrangements (Cole, 1989; Arnot 1992) are among the factors which determine gender inequality from the developed countries' perspective. Research in these factors is, according to Stromquist (1994), limited in developing countries where teachers' attitudes and practices may be more biased. Further examples of teachers' different responses to boy and girl pupils include paying more attention and actively supporting boys when they do well than girls; enforcing sharp feminine-masculine distinctions between students; and attaching greater importance to the cognitive development of boys than girls. All these have different consequences for boys' and girls' participation in education. These shape girls' negotiation of the academic ethos of the school as well as their confidence in their own abilities. Kelly (1987:98) suggests that inequitable treatment not only affects girls' academic performance once at school, but also whether they go to school and how long they remain there.

The fourth model for explaining gender inequalities in education according to Fagerlind and Saha is in the effects of education on adult life. An individual's level of education determines the nature of the job, income, political power and social networks. These are usually different between women and men in spite of similar levels of education, which is a disincentive for women to get educated. Kelly (1987) notes that the decision to go to school is often an economic one, based on whether girls can find jobs once they are educated. She cites the case of Malaysia where an

affirmative action policy favoured the employment of Malays against other races, thereby increasing Malay girls' school attendance. In Tunisia women's school enrolment levelled off when their employment opportunities closed. Even in the developed countries like USA and Russia, women remain longer in school because of affirmative action policies, which promote their employment and non-discriminatory wage structures (Kelly 1987:100). From Kelly's point of view education should lead to open employment for women through affirmative action policies which ensure girls go to school and remain there.

Stromquist's (1994) model for explaining gender inequality in education is derived from a comparison of developed and developing countries' situations. In developed countries, the gender gap is not perceived in terms of school enrolment, there is already gender parity. Neither is it perceived in terms of women's participation in higher education where, according to Stromquist, in the USA women outnumber men on BA and MA programmes although they are fewer at the PhD level. It is perceived in terms of the continuing segregation of women in fields of study. For example, university programmes like mathematics, engineering and physical and biological sciences have an over representation of men, and the humanities and social sciences have a predominance of women. In Japan, Stromquist noted that, strong gender ideologies lead parents to believe that daughters do not need professional careers. In the UK context, Stromquist cites Kelly's (1982) study highlighting class divisions creating an ambivalence among British parents who wanted their children, regardless of sex, to study the same subjects, to have equal pay and to have equal access to occupations. This comparative approach to explaining gender inequalities within the developed nations draws attention to the existing cross-national disparities in higher education, among men and women. In the developed countries, the gender gap is perceived in terms of access of women to fields traditionally dominated by men rather than enrolment in education itself. In contrast, in the developing countries it is perceived in terms of access to and enrolment into educational institutions at all levels.

In terms of the curriculum and school textbooks in the developed countries, Wolpe (1988) observed differentiated knowledge and hidden agendas, relating to ideologies of gender differences and shaping attitudes and behaviours through the continuous and authoritative representation of people and events. In most developing countries

gender inequality results not only from the effects of the hidden curriculum, but the gendered curriculum (Stromquist, 1994), where girls continue to be placed in home economics courses and boys in mechanical and retail courses. Developing countries' schools also reinforce gender ideology by failing to offer courses for boys and girls that address sexuality in its social context. In developed countries, changes in the sexual bias of textbooks were noted to have been generated by the demand of progressive parents. In the developing countries, an analysis of sexual bias in textbooks reveals that it still exists. Textbooks are centrally produced and remain essentially unmodified in their portrayal of women as passive, dependent on men, of low intelligence and lacking leadership skills (Stromquist, 1994).

King (1994) offers an economic model to explain that gender inequality in developing countries is influenced by cost outlays from family resources. She noted that out of pocket expenses might be different for boys and girls. Fear for daughters' safety makes parents reluctant to send them to distant schools, which necessitates different boarding and lodging arrangements. World Bank commissioned surveys explain gender inequality in education in developing countries in terms of the effect of educating girls on their adult lives and the benefits that societies derive from keeping girls longer in school to alleviate poverty. Findings from such surveys led the Chief Economist of the World Bank (quoted in King and Hill, 1993: v), to conclude that:

during my tenure as Chief Economist of the World Bank, I have become convinced that once all the benefits are recognised, investment in the education of girls may well be the highest return investment available in the developing world.

Elliot and Kelly (1982:343), have questioned the World Bank's approach which they see as a broad interpretation of women and labour market behaviours, seeking to improve the economic position of participants while neglecting their educational needs. They called for new types of data and modes of analysing groups falling behind; clarifying motivations and effective incentives; demonstrating social pay-off to investment in education; and most importantly putting cultural stereotypes in their place and demonstrating how improvement can be made. Elliot and Kelly also recommended studies with a focus on what can be changed in terms of the distribution of schools, rather than on cultural values like religion and early marriage which are difficult to affect.

However, increasing schools to increase girls' enrolment does not reflect parents' perceptions of the social returns to investing in girls' education. King and Hill (1993) noted that the implications of the gender gap in education relative to economic and social development and the cultural environment have yet to be fully explored. These are areas which bring about inequality at both the governmental, and society levels and in which educational decisions are made. The gender gap cannot therefore be treated in isolation from them. Whether there is concern about women's education by including them in education policies at the government level; or society sees the benefits of education for women as reflected in donor agency policy recommendations; and whether women themselves see the benefits of their education in terms of access to equal employment and pay as men.

The review so far has revealed that the gender gap in education is a global problem though perceived in different ways in developed and developing countries, and across the developed countries. This is suggested in the 'negotiable approach' (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989), the 'un-negotiable' approach (Davies, 1994), the 'measurable' approach (King and Hill, 1993), and the economic and cause and effect model (King, 1994). Stromquist's (1994) comparative approach between developed and developing countries and Kelly's (1987) reflections on the role of state policy in women's education provide other ways of defining the gender gap in education.

Determinants of the gender gap in education in developing countries.

Having discussed what is meant by the gender gap in developed and developing countries, the next section of the review discusses factors, which determine gender inequality in education in developing countries.

Socio-economic determinants.

The economic model provides one of explanation of the determinants of gender inequality in education in developing countries. According to King (1994), the benefits of educating girls must equal the relative cost of educating sons. From the parents' perspective, the costs of educating daughters are higher while their earnings prospects are poorer than for their sons. Studies in a number of developing countries, using the socio-economic model, have revealed that socio-economic backgrounds determine parents' attitudes to the education of girls. Economically, poverty is the biggest barrier to education, making the direct costs of schooling and the opportunity

costs of foregone child labour too expensive for many families. Children are required to help care for siblings and do household and farm work. For instance in Nepal this burden was observed to fall more heavily on girls than boys (Khan, 1993). In Sub-Saharan Africa, the household's possession of capital in terms of livestock may prevent boys more than girls from attending school, as they are required for their herding activities. However, elderly people in the household can substitute for child labour, and may free children, particularly girls, to attend school (Hyde, 1993). Girls who come from socio-economically advantaged families are more likely to enter and remain in secondary schools than those from disadvantaged families do (Hyde, 1993; Bustillo, 1993), with children of farmers having fewer years of schooling than children of parents with white collar jobs.

Rural and urban differences in girls' education in developing countries is also manifested in the greater availability of schools, greater wealth of parents, and greater job opportunities for girls in the modern sector, which increases the enrolment of girls in urban areas than in rural areas. From this perspective, the gap is not only between gender but also within gender (girls) relative to parents' level of education, family's economic background, demand for child labour and rural and urban economic differences. A country's economic history and level of development are major determinants of the gender gap in education. Poorer countries have been unable to provide the schools, teachers, equipment and materials needed in the education of their populations, although they have compulsory universal education policies. In wealthier countries, compulsory education policies are enforced. This is reflected in higher repetition and retention rates in primary and secondary school levels.

In some developing countries socio-economic changes have resulted in a general expansion in education placing women in those countries in a more advantaged position. In Latin America, for instance, the educational attainment for women as for men is strongly linked to each country's GNP per capita and economic development than gender specific policies. In Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, due to limited resources, parents practise selective education for children, (Hyde, 1993). Only those children with a likelihood of doing well at school, regardless of sex, will be educated as they stand better prospects of getting remunerative jobs. The evidence provided so far suggests that the gap is generally widest in countries with low levels of economic

development and per capita income and cross-national cultural variations. Countries with strong economies provide more opportunities in access, enrolment and retention of girls in the system of education and generally children from rural areas are less likely than children from the urban areas to be enrolled in school. However, the major determinant of education from the perspective of the socio-economic model is the high costs of schooling for girls which forces parents to favour boys' education to that of girls.

Social and cultural determinants.

There is evidence to suggest that the perceived need to protect daughters from undesirable influences determines parents' attitudes towards the education of girls, especially in areas with strong cultural and religious influence. The Muslim and Hindu religions are stern regarding women's sexual conduct (Sanabary, 1993; Khan, 1993) leading to parents' opposition to coeducation and the presence of male teachers in girls' schools. Additionally, there is resistance to sending girls to schools away from home and pressures on girls to marry at an early age. Where sexual segregation, strict parental surveillance, veiling, early marriage and rigid sex roles are practised, schools for males are more numerous and of better quality than schools for females (Finn, Reis and Dulberg, 1982).

However, this does not mean that countries with a strong Christian religious influence have a lower gender gap. According to Hyde, (1993:113), studies in Sudan indicate that the Muslim north has significantly higher school enrolments than the Christian south. Early marriage, and child bearing, the higher bride price paid for educated daughters, parents' hostility to formal education for their daughters (believed to make females self-centred, defiant of parental authority and uninterested in household affairs) influence the education of girls. Parents' level of education also contributes greatly to shaping decisions in favour of or against schooling for daughters. Studies in Botswana, Tanzania and Ghana (Hyde, 1993) and in Peru (Bustillo, 1993) concluded that households headed by educated females are more likely to send both boys and girls to school and to keep them there longer than households headed by uneducated mothers. In contrast, in the Philippines, fathers with little schooling were observed to provide more education to sons than daughters (Elliot and Kelly, 1982:113). This stresses the impact of parents' level of education on girls' education.

In some parts of the developing world, parents' views on the ability of their daughters to help their families, by marrying a white-collar husband, influenced their decision to send them to school (King, 1994). This implies cross-country variations in the cultural attitudes of parents towards their daughters' education, whereby cultural expectations and attitudes relative to marriage can be a deterrent or an incentive to girls' education. The socio-cultural and socio-economic models explain parents' attitudes, which influence their decisions to invest in girls' education.

School related factors.

School related factors in terms of type and quality of schools, curriculum offered and the sex stereotyping in educational materials and by teachers, have been noted to influence the enrolment, retention and academic attainment of girls. For instance, in Kenya, Eshiwani (cited in Hyde 1993:119) established that schools of poor quality inhibited the educational attainment of girls; while in government aided secondary schools girls were noted as performing as well as boys, unlike girls in private schools; and girls in single sex schools tended to perform better than those in coeducation schools. In Ghana, Weis (cited in Hyde 1993) established that girls were over represented in secondary schools of low quality; and under represented in science and mathematics. Both these subjects are often regarded as un-feminine, and often lack the infrastructure to teach them.

In Tanzania, female achievement was found to be lower than male achievement; in Mauritius it was found to be higher (Hyde, 1993). In a separate study in Zimbabwe, Mickleburg (1992) found that retention rates for girls in government secondary schools was higher than the retention for boys in non-government schools. These examples of gender inequality across developing countries, show academic achievement sometimes, to be perceived as a girls' problem (as in Tanzania) and sometimes as a boys' problem (as in Mauritius). In Kenya, Zimbabwe and Ghana the problem is associated with the quality and type of school and not girls.

The presence or scarcity of female teachers can also influence the enrolment of girls. In Nepal, for instance, efforts by international donors to increase the number of female teachers succeeded in encouraging girls to enrol and remain in schools (Khan, 1993). Problems surfaced when the locally drafted teachers became chronically absent, because of their household chores. It was also revealed that their primary

concern was to earn extra income. This suggests that while the presence of female teachers is important in encouraging parents to send their daughters to school, the cultural values attached to women and household chores affects their efficiency in schools.

This review of the determinants of the gender gap in education in developing countries suggests areas of differences in terms of cultures, level of economic development and level of educational attainment. However, there are similarities between these very traditional countries where culture influences norms, values and attitudes to gender and education, which in turn determine access, enrolment and retention of boys and girls in schools. In spite of the radical differences across the regions, the developing countries are sufficiently similar to justify their relevance to understanding gender and education in Uganda. The next section draws on these international perspectives to determine whether Uganda shares these developing countries' problems regarding gender inequality in education and the implications for Ugandan policies in education directed at creating equity.

The concept of Gender in education in Uganda.

This section explores and highlights factors, which create the gender gap in education in Uganda. Evidence from literature suggests that gender inequality in education is not only an attitudinal problem, but is a function of many other factors which have not been identified by research in Uganda and other developing countries. Consequently, a comparative approach is used in this section, drawing on literature from the west to explain those gaps which have not been addressed by literature from Uganda and other developing countries.

Determinants of gender inequalities in education in Uganda.

The right to receive an equal opportunity in education has been a fundamental part of many human rights documents since the Second World War. In the developed countries this right is in terms of access to fields of study, careers, curriculum, employment and equal pay for both women and men (Stromquist 1994). In the developing countries the right is expressed in terms of the benefits that society derives from keeping girls longer in school. This suggests, according to Wilson (1991:2), that benefits are derived from providing access to girls in education rather than the content of education, underpinned by the principle of non-discrimination.

The argument behind these poverty alleviation policies is that educating girls will lead to reduced fertility and population rates. It will also lead to reduced child and maternal mortality rates, increased economic production rates, and improved hygiene and nutritional practices (FAWE, 1995; Pan-African Conference, 1993; United Nations, 1993; World Bank, 1993). The policies suggest that a focus on girls implies that the low levels of social, economic and cultural development in developing countries are a result of girls' disadvantages and their inability to solve problems for themselves without education. However, unlike the funding bodies, parents (as noted earlier) do not consider the social benefits of sending daughters to school when it comes to cost benefit calculations of educating both boys and girls

The MoES (1993:4) acknowledged that education guarantees employment, higher pay, and socio-economic advancement, but for women the path to education and these advantages is strewn with many more obstacles than for men. These problems are shown in existing policy documents and national surveys to be culture and education system-based problems. They adversely affected girls' education by limiting entry at the primary and secondary school levels, and causing high drop out rates in the upper primary and secondary school education. Literature on gender inequality in education suggests a common set of problems for all developing countries. However the MoES identified problems within the education system not related to society's socio-economic and socio-cultural problems. These are discussed as system of education-based gender problems.

Social and cultural determinants.

As an arm of the government in the formulation and implementation of education policy, the Ministry of Education identified several culturally based gender problems emanating from traditional and cultural practices influencing the education of girls. They include:

- beliefs in the traditional society that a woman's place is in the home and therefore formal education is not necessary for filling this basic role;
- the misconception that girls and women are a weaker sex needing to be protected, thus excluding them from education;
- the traditions and practices that view girls as a source of wealth, implying that education for girls may delay or deny bridal wealth to parents, resulting in early marriage; and

- poverty, which forces parents to depend on child labour. Male children may be called upon to help in livestock herding and to lend a hand on the farms. Girls are called upon to perform household duties at an early age. As a result both boys and girls are withdrawn from or drop out of school.

According to the Directorate of Gender, (1995:67) these problems were first highlighted by the Castle Commission on Education (1963) and have continued to characterise Uganda's education. The Castle Report identified objectives including 'providing equality of opportunity in education to all people, raising standards of agriculture and technical education, expansion of girls' education and provision of adult education'. Consequently, various researchers and policy makers and implementers in education have continued to address these problems.

A number of sources agree that culturally based, gender problems identified by the MoES still continue to influence the low levels of enrolment particularly among the girls. The Directorate of Gender report on the situation of the girl child in Uganda (1995: 80) indicates that while there seems to be great similarities in the way society looks at the education of girls, the reasons why parents do not send their daughters to school vary between ethnic groups. These surveys revealed that in agricultural South West Uganda, it is the attitude and the level of education attained by male parents which determine the education of girls.

In the pastoral communities in Northeast Uganda, the same study revealed that marriage prospects, bride wealth, distances to school and existing educational infrastructure influence the male parent's attitude towards the education of girls. In a separate study in agricultural North-western Uganda, Action Aid (1993) surveys revealed that in cases of financial shortages in the home, the job of educating girls is left to mothers. The reports however do not indicate whether male parents' attitudes towards their daughters' education were studied alongside female parents' attitudes, and which of the two parents' attitudes determines daughters' education most.

Non-governmental organisations have been significant in funding studies on gender in education as a basis for their strategies to help women in the rural areas of Uganda. Such studies include assessments of the situation of women and poverty (Action Aid, 1993); determining tools and applications for considering gender in development (USAID, 1992); and problems of schoolgirl drop outs in upper primary classes (ACFODE, 1991). Their findings reflect similar culturally based gender

problems also identified by the MoES. While they cite problems of culture, their economic model oriented studies offer little explanation of its depth as a deterrent of girls' education. This may be due to their funding strategies which aim at increasing the enrolment of girls in the school system, expecting to see tangible results in terms of increased enrolment and retention figures. Adopting the World Bank's economic model suggests that Uganda shares common gender problems with other developing countries.

Studies on gender inequality in and outside the field of education funded by non-governmental organisations, and those by students in academic institutions in and outside Uganda (using a legal, social, and economic frame-works), suggest negative cultural attitudes towards girls as the major determinant of inequalities in education. Although the research methods may be questioned, their findings indicate that the problem of gender and inequality in education in Uganda is indeed an attitudinal one. All these studies identify sexist attitudes towards women as resulting in inequalities in education. These sexist attitudes manifest themselves in discriminatory cultural and traditional norms which influence parents' choice between educating sons and not daughters in instances of scarce funds (Action Aid-Uganda, 1993; MoES, 1993; Mugenyi, 1992; Uwimana, 1995). The division of roles and labour from the household level to the national labour market is gender stereotyped (Directorate of Gender, 1995; Mwaka et al, 1994). This determines areas of academic pursuit for boys and girls as well as denying women opportunity and time to undertake training and education. Socially, school attendance for girls in Uganda is compromised by adolescent pregnancies caused by age mates, teachers or sugar daddies (MoES, 1992). This situation has economic and cultural roots, and results in the aggravation of inequality and inequity of opportunities in education between boys and girls.

Ugandan societies were and still are, organised along 'patriarchal structures' which, from a western perspective, manifest themselves in what Weiner (1994:4) perceives as sexual relations and divisions, that are formed through ideology and concretised in practice. Many Ugandan social customs favour sexual typification, which is nurtured and sustained within the family attitudes to sex roles, and reinforced by teachers in schools. In Uganda, societies treat men and women differently and see either group as having particular roles appropriate to it (Ntagali, 1992). There is evidence to suggest that cultural expectations are translated into the school system in so far as the

few lucky men to go to schools are trained for the labour market while the few lucky women are trained for home making. Generally boys are encouraged to go to school, but girls are made to stay at home and help with domestic related work. In Western Uganda, studies reveal that culture has a negative influence on women's education as it favours early marriage of which bridal wealth is a driving force (Baguma, 1995; Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda, 1988; Uwimana, 1995). Mwaka et al's (1994) profile of women in Uganda, noted that certain social values result in restrictions on the mobility of girls after puberty, and also lead to beliefs such as educating girls makes them unfit for the work expected of them after marriage or may encourage promiscuity. Uwimana (1995) noted that parents' concern for the safety of their daughters to and from school accounted for their poor response towards the education of their daughters due to the wide spread fear of their daughters being raped and the male teachers who impregnate them.

UEC (1963) charged with drafting Uganda's education policy noted that one of the greatest battles facing the government was to bring about the realisation that a girl is not inferior to a boy. Many girls and women grow up believing and accepting inferiority. Very little has been done to redress this obstacle, as it is a product of traditional attitudes towards women. As Weiner (1994:6) sums up from a western and feminist perspective:

if its true that biology creates sex differences between men and women, it is also true that notions of womanhood and manhood, feminism and masculinity have a material and social basis

Weiner's view suggests that this problem is not only inherent in Ugandan societies but also in developed and developing.

Education system-based factors.

The most significant determinant of gender inequality in Uganda is the history of education, which is widely blamed, in official documents for causing the gender gap, not only in education but also in other aspects of the social and economic situation. Nakkazi (1981) reported that since achieving independence, the education system has been narrow in scope, predominantly academic, selective and eliminative. Consistent with Nakkazi's views, was the government decision to review the system of education. A countrywide survey of the opinions of Ugandans' expectations from education led to recommendations, which were used in drafting a new education policy. The Commission reported in the EPRCR, (1992) that the then system was

elitist and separated educated citizens from the real problems, interests and aspirations of the masses of working Ugandans. It was also revealed that women particularly have been alienated by the education system, because of the social-cultural-political and economic environment, which put them at a disadvantage. The report concluded that although there were social and economic gender related problems, many of the problems were based within the system of education. The report revealed that:

- girls' enrolment is generally lower than boys', declining further as they progress in the education system;
- the cost of education is generally very expensive and therefore school authorities which depend on parental contributions to run the schools have no choice but to exclude those pupils who cannot pay. Faced with such a dilemma, and given dominant cultural attitudes, poor parents will automatically hold back girls. This happens less in urban as than in rural communities;
- the drop out and wastage is higher for girls than for boys. Schools, especially in the rural and urban slums, are less appealing and therefore less effective in retaining pupils. This is aggravated by the fact that girls are already perceived as assets elsewhere. Early pregnancies for girls have also caused their exclusion from the school system;
- the inadequate number of secondary school places for girls upon successful completion of primary leaving examinations is lamentable;
- there is a shortage of boarding facilities especially in urban areas where large secondary schools and post-secondary institutions are located. This is especially true of coeducational boarding facilities in the countryside;
- there has been a negative attitude towards technical education generally and in particular towards girls' involvement in certain subjects, thereby perpetuating gender based stereotypes in the curriculum;
- there has been a notable absence of positive female role models among science teachers, principals, directors of tertiary institutions, and professors;
- careers and guidance services are inadequate. Deliberate moves to encourage girls to take up subjects which boys have dominated have been lacking;

- the lack of up to date and timely gender dis-aggregated data is closely related to inadequate identification and analysis of gender related problems and effective planning.

The Directorate of Gender (1995:68) pointed out that other factors (war, civil strife and the consequent economic decline of the past two decades) also contributed to the erosion of the system, the quality of education and the present situation of girls. It is emphasised that the education system has not been subjected to continuous systematic planning. It has continued to develop largely as a result of uncoordinated social demand and this partly accounts for wide disparities. As we saw earlier in other developing countries, although gender problems were not addressed specifically as system of education-based problems, they were nevertheless observed to be characteristic features of systems of education.

According to the EPRCR (1992), pre-colonial education systems in Uganda were informal and did not discriminate against any sex group in the early childhood years. As soon as children reached puberty, education became gendered in preparation for the future roles of each sex in society, based on an informal apprenticeship model. The pre-colonial education system provided girls and boys a type of education based on the 'cause and effect' model to prepare them for adult life. In the new formal education system introduced by European Christian missionaries and nurtured and perpetuated during the colonial and post-colonial era, girls and women became invisible in the curriculum, textbooks, employment and remuneration (EPRCR, 1992). However, while the government continues to blame the colonial education system for the gender inequalities, the Directorate of Gender (1995) perceives the problem to be with the government which has not continuously and systematically reviewed education policy.

Kabuzi's (1987) documentary survey of the status and condition of women in Uganda revealed that the education of girls was aimed at bridging the intellectual gap between husbands and their wives. Originally the education system was designed for men who were later expected to take over the administration of their own people. According to Kabuzi, the indigenous chiefs and the clergy, who were groomed to be advocates of education tended to enrol sons from their own ranks, and it was felt that they needed to have their counterparts among the women. As a result a few schools were established to educate girls from families of chiefs and the clergy who would

marry the educated administrators. It was also revealed that the new education system endowed the educated girls with new European tastes and values, which culturally alienated them from the rest of society. Accordingly in the eyes of the majority of parents and potential husbands who were not administrators educated girls tended to shun hard work especially in the agricultural practices.

According to Kabuzi, (1987), Ugandan parents are concerned that sending their daughters to school will reduce their eligibility for marriage. As a result the new education system in Uganda closed its doors to girls who were not born into chief and clergy families and limited the education of girls in general, to meet the traditional cultural expectations. Kabuzi's findings suggest that, contrary to the findings of the EPRCR (1992) which blames traditional cultural set-ups for the alienation of women, it is in fact the education system, which alienated the women from their cultures. This suggests a mismatch between education policy and cultural attitudes towards girls, marriage expectations and educational outcomes on one hand, and girls' perceptions of education as a liberating force from cultural oppression or as an alienating force from cultural expectations on the other.

The literature review has so far shown Uganda to share much in common with other developing countries. In these countries it is the outcome of education as reflected in the ability of girls to acquire marriage partners, which determines parents' decision to send daughters to school. In some societies the higher a girl's level of education the higher will be her chances of attracting a marriage partner and higher bride price. In other societies, including Uganda, the higher a girl's level of education the lower will be her chances of getting a marriage partner and bride price.

Socio-economic factors.

There is evidence to suggest that family decisions to send girls to school are related to the labour situation at home (Mwaka et al, 1994; Uwimana, 1995; Action Aid, 1993). They argue that the division of tasks and the demands on their daughters' labour, low incomes, their aspirations and expectations for girls, the returns they expect from daughters in terms of support, particularly during old age, influence parents' decisions to send daughters to school. Mugenyi's (1992) surveyed the effect of the World Bank/IMF structural adjustment programmes on rural women in Uganda in the 1980's. Findings revealed economic hardships, which affected school

enrolments and attendance. Children were withdrawn from schools to participate in the family's income generating activities, agriculture and other domestic chores, where there was insufficient income to cover school fees for both boys and girls. This implies that some of the policies recommended by funding bodies to improve the economic situations of poor countries can result in widespread poverty which instead of increasing school enrolments drive children especially, out of schools.

Uwimana (1995) surveyed 40 households in South-western Uganda on factors affecting girls' education. She found that parents gave priority to educating boys in cases of financial constraint and high school fees. Mothers especially admitted to encouraging daughters to absentee themselves from school in order to help with the income generating activities in the homes. The sexual division of labour within households does not favour girls particularly in the rural areas, which leaves them with less time than boys to concentrate on home-work (unlike their counterparts in the urban areas whose parents are able to hire household help). This attitude connects to parents' level of education which Uwimana (1995) found, is low in parts of Western Uganda, thereby contributing to low enrolment for girls.

The Directorate of Gender cited Seely's (1991) eight case studies of how women and households in Uganda struggle to find school fees for their children. It was revealed that parents consider a number of options and strategies ranging from selling off spare property, to borrowing in order to keep children in school. The least favoured option was to keep the child out of school and in the majority of cases girls were the casualties. This suggests that parents might not deliberately choose to educate boys because economic returns are higher, as the economic model suggests. Neither is it a deliberate policy to leave out girls because they will get married and leave the family, as the social model seems to suggest. Rather it is a result of the failure to meet the demand for school fees, which leaves girls exposed to the cultural expectations of marriage.

School related factors.

Research on school related factors as a determinant of gender inequality in education in Uganda is insufficient. One possible explanation is that independent researchers who are involved with children at the school level are not encouraged to carry out research. However, a few researchers like Kabuzi (1988) have used a socio-historical

model of education to study the status and condition of women in Uganda. He concluded that in the education system there is a 'mystique of predetermined masculinity and femininity', whereby colonial and post-colonial education planners tended to generalise about boys and girls as separate species. Their parents look at them as such and provided educational opportunities to the species which is considered to be socially and economically more important.

The formal system of education was designed along divisive lines whereby the curriculum for boys and girls, is divided into traditional male and female crafts. Domestic and welfare subjects in home management and hotel catering were designed for girls, while agriculture and other technical subjects were earmarked for boys (Kabuzi, 1988; Stromquist, 1994). At the school level, the relationship between marriage and curriculum planning for boys and girls, assumed that the vocation of girls is marriage and looking after children. Boys would work in employment leading to career advancement, as well as providing for the dependent women and children. Schools were therefore expected to plan for children's education with these different aims in mind.

Parents' continued perceptions of marriage as a vocation for girls suggests that most mothers do not relate equal educational opportunities to equal division of labour at the household level. They would like their daughters to study to the same level as their sons, but they do not encourage both boys and girls to share house hold chores equally because they feel that certain jobs such as cooking and looking after siblings are not for boys (Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda 1988). The majority of parents in the rural areas are not educated in the formal system. Their daughters are exposed to a traditional cultural curriculum, which is as divisive as the formal education curriculum.

Mwaka et al (1994) and Uwimana (1995) noted a number of factors affecting girls' education: the prevailing attitudes and climate within the schools; the unavailability of suitable schools for girls; relevance of the curriculum; the sexual harassment of girls from male peers, male teachers and other males outside the system. Uwimana (1995) noted further that a poor learning environment, ill-equipped libraries, text books and other scholastic materials, lack of teachers due to insufficient salaries and other remuneration affected both boys' and girls' education. Mugenyi (1992) also noted economic hardships, which induce teachers, especially in the rural areas to

spend very little time on teaching but concentrate on other income generating activities. Some teachers were reported to be using the labour of school children in their activities.

CIDA's (1989) study on women in development revealed that, at the school level, there is a reinforcement of sex stereotyping through streaming of courses by sex, content of the curriculum and text books. Kwesiga's (1993) study on the access of women to higher education in Uganda revealed a lack of female teacher role models and guidance and counselling. This results in the over concentration of girls and women in fields such as home economics and the liberal arts while boys dominate the sciences.

In the context of developed countries, Weiner (1994) suggests that the relationship between men and women, girls and boys involve power and domination, powerlessness, submission and resistance. Similarly, in the Ugandan context, these relations and divisions are implicated in the definition and construction of gender relations. These are manifested in defining gender appropriate behaviour or in shaping perceptions of the appropriate place for girls and women in the family, society, school and employment. Society's views and general role expectations, which exist for both women and men, have an effect on the expectations and participation of girls in education. The school subjects chosen, future employment prospects and expected family responsibilities place girls and women in a disadvantaged position in the provision of equal opportunities in education.

The review has so far revealed both differences and similarities between Uganda and other developing countries. This suggests that the problems of Uganda are problems of the developing world, and to a large extent, whatever policies have been known to reduce the gender gap in education may be applicable to Uganda. The review has revealed that gender inequality is largely an attitudinal problem reflecting societies' social and traditional cultural attitudes, which place women in a secondary position. The next section of the review examines the literature to determine whether, in view of strong traditional and cultural attitudes towards women and girls, policy makers and implementers should adopt an 'equality' or an 'equity' approach in the provision of equal opportunities in education for girls.

'Equal' or 'equitable' opportunities in education: what choice for Uganda?

The review of literature on gender inequalities in developing countries including Uganda has revealed that the gap between girls and boys is manifested in access to education, enrolment in educational institutions and retention within the system of education. Several writers and researchers on gender and education have concluded that, without equal access to educational experiences, skills and qualifications, girls and women have been deprived in their personal development, and in their choice of work. They have also been deprived in their lives as citizens and in their capacity to influence the local and national political decisions which affect their lives (Wilson, 1991; Stromquist, 1994; Fagerlind and Saha, 1991; and Womald and Crossley, 1988). In the light of these deprivations, the United Nations Decade for Women (1984-1994) resulted in a focus on girls and women to improve their situation, by advocating their increased participation in education. A range of educational measures were prescribed to raise awareness of gender equality issues among educational personnel; to encourage girls to take up non traditional courses of study and careers such as information technology; to develop non-sexist teaching materials; and to develop training programmes for women of all ages to combat inequality in employment (EPCRC, 1992; Lahelma, 1993; Wilson, 1991).

However, while these measures have been useful in heightening practitioners' awareness of sexism, they do not necessarily succeed in altering the education system to benefit girls. Rollason (1988) observed that all of the issues relating to gender, justice and equality of opportunity are problematic and often contentious. The concept of educational opportunities has been employed in a variety of ways, to evaluate patterns of educational provisions; to examine factors that influence differentials in student achievement in school; and to assess the linkages between schooling and occupational mobility and incomes (Smock, 1981:12). However the concept is employed relatively narrowly to refer to access to schooling, continuation or retention in school, and the nature of educational programmes.

According to Smock, access measures the proportion of those members of an eligible group who enrol in a particular school or institution, against those who were barred by socio-economic, socio-cultural and school related factors. Continuation or retention assesses the proportion of the original enrolment remaining in schools and advancing to the next level against those who dropped out of the system for one

reason or another. This implies that the critical factor with regard to access, enrolment and retention into educational programmes is the extent to which various subgroups of the population, categorised by sex, socio-economic class, cross-national cultural and ethnic differences and rural-urban location, are exposed to the same level of schools, curriculum and gender neutrality in textbooks, the school and in the classrooms. From Smock's explanation, equity and equality measures to provide opportunities in education are implemented using different operational definitions of the concept of equal opportunities and equitable opportunities.

Arnesen and Charthaigh (1992) view equal opportunity as referring women and men having the same opportunities in terms of formal rights and access to education paid work, status and earnings. This definition fails to reflect the question of peoples' attitudes within the framework of socio-economic and cultural factors which, from the developing countries perspective, create inequality. Another approach to defining equality is offered by Nielsen and Boysen (1992), who noted that in Denmark equal opportunity involves:

- having equal rights at all levels;
- acceptance of and respect for the unique qualities and values of both sexes, irrespective of social and cultural factors;
- efforts to make 'feminine' values visible and to accord them value and status in social and political life;
- individuals having a sense of self esteem and value for themselves in order to participate fully in social processes.

According to Nielsen and Boysen, for both sexes equality of opportunity involves internal and external liberation from the norms and power structures to which each is subjected, ultimately to create a caring world based on peace and mutual respect. Nielsen and Boysen's model is in contrast with the Ugandan and other developing countries' socio-cultural and traditional contexts. As the literature has revealed, such societies are still attached to their traditional cultures which confine both women and men to different levels and roles in society. The MoES (1993:3) report of the sectoral working committee on gender related policy revealed that:

one of the most persistent obstacles to an adequate development role for education is the tendency in many of our traditional societies for cultural beliefs to stand in the way of rapid extension of education to women. Womankind has continued to be denied critical knowledge, and skills necessary for survival. The belief is that a woman's place is in the home and formal education is unlikely to aid in fulfilling this basic role.

Fears have been expressed that the education of women will weaken the family, challenge the hierarchy of authority in the family and village and work against certain religions and culture. To this effect, few men prefer university graduates as spouses, women priests and decision-makers.

This statement reveals the problem faced by the government and as it sees it, it is a problem of peoples' cultures and attitudes. These equality models would not be effective in liberating women from their socio-cultural contexts. They risk being accused of cultural alienation. Even if the government wanted to provide equal opportunities in education by making it more available to women, people's attitudes would act as a source of resistance because of the changes that are likely to come with the new status of women in society.

Secada (1989) argues that equity should be constructed as a check on the justice of specific actions that are carried out within the system and the result of those actions. According to Secada, percentage differences between girls and boys are interpreted to demonstrate the existence of inequality. Equality therefore is interpreted to mean the absence of those differences. Byrne (1985) offers a similar definition. She looks at equality as the condition of being equal in quantity, amount, values, and intensity as well as the condition of being equal in dignity, privileges and power. Under this definition, the planned provision for girls in most schools in Uganda and in the developing world in general, does not emerge as equal, as inequalities were observed not only between girls and boys but among girls as well.

Feminist researchers and writers like Byrne (1985) have identified broad themes where equity and equality have been seen to work at the national, school, college and local environment levels. These include:

- the concept of equality - how to achieve consensus on what is being aimed for, how this matches international agreements to which nations are committed, and what the implications are for educational planners and educators;
 - responsibility of national governments to create and carry out with resources coherent national plans for providing equality of opportunities in education;
 - an understanding of the full educational implications of the dual role for both sexes, and the urgency of curriculum reform for a compulsory common core education for both sexes, for parenthood or for a range of kinds of family living.
- It is noted that at one time or other boys and girls, women and men will live in

family situations with responsibility for young children and will therefore need skills in home making and of maintaining personal and satisfying relationships;

- the need for positive discrimination in the curriculum if both sexes are to catch up with the areas known to harbour major sex differences.

These broad themes, according to Byrne (1985), conform to the United Nations (1967) definition of equality. In this equal is taken to mean uniformity for boys and girls in all that relates to the common core of knowledge, skills, attitudes and experiences, without which no one will survive in a happy and fulfilled, efficient and adaptable adulthood. Equality from the Ugandan and developing countries' perspective would imply uniformity in so far as girls' access to education and enrolment in schools is facilitated. However, the education system will not guarantee their retention as it is parents who hold the decision to keep girls in schools and other factors like early marriage and pregnancy may contrive to keep them out of school.

At the school level, both equality and equity are defined by Brookover and Lezotte (cited by Grant, 1989) in terms of:

- access to schooling - an equal opportunity to gain entry by using different admissions or application procedures such as reserving places for girls or admitting them at a lower pass mark;
- process of schooling - as an equity measure, to eliminate separate treatment and the mainstreaming of diverse groups of students in school and classroom activities and beyond non discrimination;
- and outcome of schooling - in equity and equality, meaning that all students are provided with educational experiences that ensure the achievement of certain uniform goals and objectives. This would be an indicator of an equitable share of the benefits of schooling, which would reduce the predictive value of gender in determining educational achievement.

Providing equal opportunities in the school context therefore, refers to 'equal chances for all and has mainly to do with sensitiveness of people more than equalising people' in defusing gender practices (Ngesi, 1994:5). At the school level concern for providing equal opportunities may appear as a one sex process, whereby girls are encouraged to cross the traditional sex barrier in subject and career choices (sciences), while boys are not encouraged to do the same. Secada (1989), noted that affirmative action, as in Uganda and many developing countries, would be

superfluous, since the discriminated against group would be the better qualified group. This is due to the different usage of both affirmative action and positive discrimination concepts. In the western countries affirmative action refers to active measures that seek to redress past discrimination, and positive discrimination refers to measures that explicitly inhibit impartial judgement to ensure equal opportunity, Uganda and many developing countries do not distinguish between the two concepts. Both are used to refer to measures that explicitly address past discrimination practices against women by forcefully making them present/visible in areas where men have been traditionally advantaged. Therefore in Uganda, while boys are considered to be more privileged than girls in access, enrolment and retention into the system of education, their interests are not catered for by affirmative action policies to favour girls which may rebound on boys' enrolment and retention rates. Education should be seen in terms of how its resources and outcomes get distributed among girls and boys. This situation results in the creation of what Green (1989) described as 'pseudo-equal opportunities'. Within the curriculum, achieving equity and equality involves use of non-sexist language and instruction which, according to Turner (cited by Grant, 1989), would show that women and girls are present and have achieved access by being visible in the curriculum and text books; a situation, which according to researchers on gender in developing countries, has not been achieved.

In Uganda, indices of inequalities are quantitative differences between boys and girls in accessibility to schools; drop out rates; physical facilities for girls in schools; level of academic performance; the curriculum; number of female head teachers, deputies and teachers (to act as role models for girls) and non measurable factors such as the attitude of male teachers and boys to girls; and the social, economic, political and cultural factors. Inequalities and inequities exist in subject and career choices, they are caused by sex bias which, Sanders (1989) noted, happens in many different ways on a daily basis in schools to keep girls away from science oriented subjects, while fewer boys venture into subjects considered to be in the female domain. Such a situation may, according to Sanders, lead to an inequity trap in which girls are socialised differently from boys.

Manger and Gjestads' (1997) study noted a significant effect of gender favouring boys in mathematical achievement at a Norwegian third grade primary school level.

Findings suggest that where there are differences, they are brought by pupils' attitudes and confidence or lack of it in learning maths; perceived usefulness of maths; and attributions of causes of success and failure in maths rather than gender based aptitudes for the subject. Contrary to the above findings, Kisa's (1991) study on gender and school type mathematics achievement of S.3 boys and girls in selected schools in Uganda, revealed that the problem lay with teachers. They directly or indirectly give cues to pupils which may affect their learning of maths; use language and examples in class which convey that maths is important to boys and not girls; and encourage boys' negative attitudes towards girls and maths which affects girls' performance. The problem therefore is attitudinal, reflecting teachers' attitudes towards girls and boys relative to academic performance.

In a study of a different kind on gender identification and academic achievement, Power et al (1998) traced a group of women and men who had first been studied in a mid-1980s Assisted Places Scheme. At the age of 11 and in the early stages of their secondary school careers, they had been identified as academically able. Contact with a relatively large sample of those women and men, although they had attended single sex schools, revealed that their early promise seemed to have been fulfilled. Power et al's (1998:3) reported that contrary to what has been suggested by other writers (they cited Arnot et al, 1996; Blackburn and Jarman, 1993) there was no sign of boys' relatively higher achievement; there was evidence of boys' relative under achievement; there was less indication of the gender differentiated access to elite institutions, although boys more than girls were more likely to attend high status universities; and there were no significant differences in the class of degree obtained by women and men. Their study suggests that boys and girls differentially experience the nature and implication of forms of gender identification.

Manger and Gjestad's model provides a girl centred approach to understanding their contribution towards gender inequality. Kisa's model, like others (Stromquist, 1994; Cole, 1989; Arnot, 1992), focuses on the effect of teachers' and boys' attitudes towards girls, discipline, the curriculum, and stereotyping in school textbooks on girls' academic achievement. Both models however do not explain the effect of girls' attitudes towards themselves, their teachers and boys, as well as education, particular subjects in the curriculum, and towards their schools in general on their participation in education. Power et al's model on the other hand, explains the extent to which the

production of masculine identities affects negatively or positively male students' academic careers. As Bowman and Anderson (1982) observed, children have little to say in whether they avail themselves of the opportunities provided to them.

Summary and Conclusions of the review.

This review has highlighted factors which determine the gender gap in education in developing countries including Uganda. It has attempted to provide a road map and framework for analysing the provision of equal opportunities in education for both boys and girls in Uganda using the socio-economic, socio-cultural, socio-historical and other models, developed in other research. The literature revealed that gender inequality in education is in terms of access to education, enrolment and retention in the school system. It showed some determinants of the gender gap to be country or region specific. The literature revealed that the gender problem in Uganda, and in many developing countries, is a function of peoples' attitudes reflecting socio-economic and socio-cultural perspectives towards the education of girls. In Uganda, gender inequality gap between girls and boys is still wide with the causes ranging from traditional cultural attitudes to gender at the household level, to gender relations between men and women and boys and girls at the community and school levels. Gender inequality is also embedded within the system of education, and is reflected within the school factors.

The literature from Uganda also shows that the government has taken steps to improve the situation of girls and women by setting up a Ministry of Gender and Community development to promote their interests. What the literature from Uganda and other developing countries did not reveal was what the key players involved in the policy implementation process at the MoE, District and School levels perceived gender inequality to be. The main questions arising from the literature relevant to the aim of the study are:

- How do key players in the education policy implementation process perceive the factors determining the gender gap?
- Is it possible to implement uniform policies in developing countries, given that they have similar perceptions of gender inequalities but different determinants of those inequalities in education?

- Are strategies for addressing the gender gap in developing countries more appropriate for Uganda than those from developed countries?

These questions informed the methodological orientation for the study and are explored in the next chapter. The methodology draws largely on qualitative research approaches to determine key players' perceptions of gender inequality and equal opportunities in education and whether their perceptions contribute to the continued persistence of the gender gap in education in Uganda.

Chapter Three

CHAPTER THREE.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

Introduction.

Consistent with the aims and rationale for study, the methodological approach was guided by the researcher's proposal to explore through research, the assumptions that:

- international and national policies to provide equal opportunities in education for boys and girls, are recommended and prescribed for implementation in developing countries like Uganda without taking into account how they are perceived and implemented by the key players in the policy implementation process;
- in spite of recent policies and the belief that much has been accomplished in this area, little has in fact been implemented.

To test the assumptions, this study was designed to examine perceptions on gender and equal opportunities in education, from the perspectives of key players at three levels: those who inform and implement policy at the MoE level; those who implement policy at the district and school levels; and those whom the policy is intended for at the school and classroom levels. This approach provides a framework for determining the role played by the key players in the policy implementation process, and their contribution to the success or failure of the implemented policy. Data was collected to reflect the key players' perceptions of what has been done so far to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys. The study sought explanations on the opinions, beliefs and attitudes of the key players in the policy implementation process and called for a largely qualitative methodological approach.

Methodological and theoretical orientation.

The literature review revealed that gender inequality in the developed and developing countries is viewed from different perspectives. Where developed countries have achieved parity in access and enrolment to education and schooling, in developing countries it is yet to be achieved. Where in developed countries, parity in access for women to fields of study dominated by men is yet to be achieved, in developing countries girls and women are yet to achieve access to education and schooling. In the light of these differences, policies from developed countries are recommended and

implemented in developing countries in the belief that they will remove gender inequalities in the provision of opportunities in education. The literature also revealed that causes of gender inequality in education involve an interplay of social, economic and cultural factors, which are embedded in peoples' attitudes towards education and gender. Therefore the success or failure of policies that are implemented to solve gender problems must be examined from the perspective of the key players involved in the policy implementation process in developing countries and not from donor and international conference-driven perspectives.

The study sought to address issues of gender inequality in education, and was influenced and informed by the feminist research approach. According to Stanley and Wise (1983) feminist research is concerned with filling in a gap by focusing on women only, through carrying out research in which female interests have not been previously explored. Feminist research methods adopted a largely qualitative stance to understanding women's lives which focuses more on the subjective experiences and meanings of those being researched. In this study there were those who inform and implement policy in education and those whom policies target. Semi-structured or unstructured interviews were regarded as more appropriate to the kinds of knowledge that a feminist concern with gender and education would wish to make available.

Finch (1986) describes feminist research as in qualitative research, as an opposition tradition to quantitative research which is identified with hard, objective and rigorous methods, while qualitative research is identified with soft, subjective and speculative methods. Hard facts accruing from quantitative research as perceived by feminists produce a falsely concrete body of data, which distort rather than reflect the actor's meanings and therefore are unable to convey an in-depth understanding of the feelings of the people under study (Maynard, 1994:11). To understand and solve the problem of gender and equal opportunities in education in Uganda, studies based on a positivistic stance would be of limited use. They would be based on assumptions that the researcher's familiarity with the phenomena under study, is sufficient for her or him to be able to specify before hand the full range of experiences being studied and how these can be encapsulated, categorised and measured (ibid. p.11), and is therefore neither exploratory nor investigatory. Hard figures (for instance on access, enrolment and retention of boys and girls) without an exploration of the perceptions of those involved in the policy implementation process, would be insufficient to identify gaps

that need to be filled in order to make the provision of opportunities in education for all a reality.

Maynard (1994) points out that it is not clear what focusing on gender means in terms of research; whether it entails a pre-eminent concern with women alone given their previous neglect, or whether gender implies women's relationships to men, examined from a woman's perspective. A commitment to hearing women's voices according to Atkinson et al (1993) fits neatly with a research approach that explores and presents the actor's perspectives in their own terms. In this study, I constructed gender to imply women/girls' and men/boys' relationship to each other, in having equal opportunities in education policy implementation process as examined from both a woman's and educator's perspectives. This approach took account of Stanley and Wise's (1983) caution against the dangers of studying women separately. Stanley and Wise suggest that feminism should remain open to, adopt, adapt, modify and use interesting and useful ideas from any and every source. For them:

if sexism is the name of the problem addressed by feminism, then the men are importantly involved in its practice. Feminist research must be concerned with all aspects of social reality and all participants in it. Any analysis of women's oppression must research on the part played by men in this (Stanley and Wise, 1983:18).

The key players in the policy implementation process in Uganda involve both women and men, whose roles are complimentary to each other at the MoE, district and school levels. It was felt that studying both women and men and girls and boys alongside each other would provide a new framework for studying and understanding gender inequality in education in Uganda. Focusing on gender in research may lead to 'sexual dichotomism' which Eichler (1988) defines as treating the sexes as two discrete groups rather than as overlapping groups by attributing human properties to only one sex, and by ignoring intra-group differences. This may result in a situation where the previously advantaged group becomes disadvantaged while the disadvantaged group may remain disadvantaged and thereby lead to a vicious cycle of advantaged and disadvantaged groups in society. It could further lead to resistance from the men who may be becoming weary of the over emphasis put on girls and women, especially in Uganda where they are on the political agenda. Continuing to do so may result into what Stanley and Wise (1983) called a 'ghetto effect' which in recent years has seen developments in men's/masculinity studies as an opposition tradition to women's feminist studies. According to Kelly et al (1994:33):

one of the strongest arguments made for men's studies has been that feminist research

has neglected the study of men and masculinity and that men can study these areas more effectively.

Ghettoisation could lead men to make demands, which may undo what the women's struggles have achieved in various fields. Much as there is a necessity for focusing on women in research, Eichler (1988) warns that researchers must avoid falling into the trap of gender insensitivity and stop seeing two genders (boys/men or girls/women).

Using the traditional positivist paradigm to study gender inequality in education would yield data derived from natural objects and not through human interaction where human beings interpret and give meaning to situations. Schutz (cited by Crossley and Vulliamy, 1997) argued that any worthwhile sociological explanation must be related to the actual ways in which groups themselves interpret their social situations. The interaction that takes place between the researcher and the researched during data collection enables the researcher to view the social world from their perspective, using strategies like in-depth and unstructured interviews. Guba and Lincoln (1994:107) noted that qualitative data could provide rich insights into human attitudes and beliefs. Using the interview strategy to get an insight into the beliefs and attitudes of the researched on gender and equal opportunities in education in Uganda would explain why the gender gap still exists in education in spite of strategies to eliminate it. Why and how those meanings are constructed, negotiated and shared in the course of human interaction led Bryman (cited by Finch, 1986) to conclude that qualitative research looks not so much for causes as for meanings.

Crossley and Vulliamy (1997), and Bryman (cited in Vulliamy et al, 1990) contend that the definition of qualitative research and the debate on the merits of quantitative research are bedevilled by a failure to differentiate between a consideration of techniques of data collection and the underlying approach of epistemology guiding the research. In the same light, Bogdan and Biklen (1992) claim that scholars are still debating the differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches to research and whether the two should be combined. The differentiating factors are the underlying philosophies and theoretical frame works. These epistemological differences characterise much of the research in education and shape researchers' overall strategies.

In the light of the rationale for using qualitative research advocated by Vulliamy et al, using a questionnaire survey and not an unstructured interview to study gender and

equal opportunities in education in Uganda, would have provided limited insight into the views and concerns of policy makers, implementers and those whom policies. The voices of the three categories of the research population at the MoE, district and school levels in relation to their sex (men and women and boys and girls), status (policy makers, implementers and users), and their attitudes and beliefs would not be heard simultaneously, thereby enabling the researcher to identify inconsistencies, and mis-readings in their perceptions of gender and equal opportunities in education.

There are several advantages accredited to quantitative research strategies, such as the technician role in which the researcher is cast. Finch (1986:112) is in agreement with researchers like Payne, Dingwell, Payne and Carter whom she cited as arguing that:

hard facts are more easily scrutinised and therefore controlled by the sponsoring body than the intangible sociological activities occurring ... from the softer techniques of participant observation and in-depth interviewing.

Hard facts make quantitative data more generalizable as the basis for future policies, because of its rigour, aggressiveness, objectivity and neutrality (Borg and Gall, 1989). Quantitative research methods can also generate administrative intelligence on a particular problem. In Uganda, for example, many strategies to address inequalities in educational opportunities like access, enrolment and retention rates between boys and girls are based on hard facts. It is also easier for the sponsoring body to fund a study based on a quantitative research approach because it is cheaper to maintain and it takes a shorter period of time to conduct.

However, qualitative research, according to Maguire and Ball (1994) is playing an increasingly important role in many school studies in the areas of race, gender and policy work. They cite Gillborn (1990) who noted a number of large-scale surveys on the effects schools can have on their students. 'But these large-scale investigations do not reveal the day to day complexities in classroom life, small-scale, detailed qualitative research can be more useful in this area, as it gains in insight what it loses in sample size' (Gillborn, 1990 quoted in Maguire and Ball, 1994:272). Maguire and Ball also cited Riddell's (1989) study of how schools aid in the reproduction of gender and class inequalities. This study led them to conclude that qualitative work, which is based on grounded theory, could reach those parts that other methods fail to reach. Such observations and other arguments for using qualitative research (Vulliamy et al, 1990; Guba and Lincoln, 1994) largely directed the choice of the research methodology for this study.

Research Design.

Research design according to Maxwell (1996) is the logic and coherency of the research study, the components of research and the ways in which these relate to one another. Rossman and Marshal (1989, 1995) asked, how can the researcher maintain the needed flexibility of research design, so that research can ‘unfold, cascade, roll and emerge’ (Lincoln and Guba 1985) and yet present a plan that is logical, concise, thorough and meets the criterion of do-ability? Qualitative research is flexible in its design and analysis of data, which allow the researcher to formulate and reformulate his or her work research (Vulliamy et al, 1990; Burgess, 1985; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In the light of this flexibility, I entered the field with research questions and a framework derived from literature on gender and equal opportunities in education.

Research Questions.

On determining the soundest strategy Yin (1984) proposed three questions:

- what is the form of the research question - is it exploratory, does it seek to describe the incidence or distribution of some phenomenon, or does it try to explain some social phenomenon?
- does the research require control over behaviour, or does it seek to describe naturally occurring events?
- is the phenomenon under study contemporary or historical?

Yin’s proposed strategy enabled me to re-examine and redesign my research questions to investigate further little understood phenomena and to identify other variables that would generate hypotheses for future research. I also re-examined and redesigned the research questions to seek an explanation of the forces causing the phenomenon, and to identify causal networks shaping the phenomenon. What is the phenomenon? It is derived from current government policy on gender and equal opportunities in education in Uganda, my ten years experience as a teacher of history in a mixed secondary school and a belief in education as an agent of change through the dissemination of knowledge. The tentative research questions that guided the study are:

1. What has been done so far from the perceptions of the key players, in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

2. In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender, what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?

Formulating these questions on the basis of Yin's strategy enabled me, as Maxwell (1996) points out, to 'identify my ignorance' on the provision of equal opportunities in education and to 'challenge my assumptions' on knowledge dissemination through the curriculum to redress gender imbalances.

Research Population.

Data was collected at three different levels; from those who inform and implement policy at the MoE level, those who implement policy at the district and school levels and those whom policies target at the classroom level (figure 3.1, appendix 2). At the MoE level two senior administrative officers, a male and female from the office of the Commissioner for Education (CE), were selected for the study because of their seniority within the MoE, their administrative duties in regard to the direct control of secondary school education and their involvement in drawing up Uganda's recent education policy. The purpose of interviewing them was to obtain a global national level picture of their perceptions of the policy of equal opportunities and gender in education, what was laid down in the policy and how much of it has been implemented from the MoE to the school level.

The curriculum and examinations are areas in which girls have been for a long time disadvantaged because of traditional sex barriers in terms of subject choice and persistently poor academic performance compared to the boys. In the light of these inequalities, two senior officers, a male and female from the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC), involved in the development and administration of the curriculum were interviewed. The purpose was to gain a global national picture of their perceptions of what has been undertaken to provide equal opportunities in the curriculum by the NCDC and how far the schools have gone in implementing the prescribed policies. From the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB), two senior examination officers a male and female involved in the setting and administration of examinations were interviewed. The purpose of interviewing them was to obtain a global picture at the national level, of their perceptions of the policy UNEB is following to provide equal opportunities in examinations for boys and girls.

How far that policy has been implemented within the Uganda National Examinations Board and in schools.

At the district level, Kampala, Mpigi and Masaka districts were chosen for the study because of their population distribution, economic activities, cultural back-ground of the population, level of education and convenience to the researcher. Kampala district incorporates the capital city and head quarters of the Ministry of Education. It has the highest population density (4,581 people per square km), and many economic activities which have led to migrations of people of different cultural backgrounds into the district. It has the highest number of educational institutions and therefore the highest level of education and was more convenient for the researcher, in terms of financial and time resources. Mpigi district borders Kampala district on one hand, Masaka district on the other and Lake Victoria with its fishing and water transport economic activities. It is a largely agricultural region; has an uneven population distribution (1000-99 people per square km) which determines the distribution of educational institutions. It was one of the first districts to be exposed to formal education in the late 1870s with the coming of the Christian missionaries in Uganda and therefore has some of the best performing schools in the country. Masaka district borders Mpigi and Lake Victoria and is predominantly an agricultural area; has a lower and unevenly distributed population (300-99 people per square km) which determines the distribution of schools. It is influenced by two religious cultures, which are influential in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls and is two hours by road from the capital city and therefore was convenient for the researcher. For data on school and student population in the three districts, see appendix 3.

From each of the three districts, a senior male and female education officer in charge of the administration of primary education were interviewed. The purpose of interviewing them was to get a global picture at the district level, on what policies on equal opportunities and gender as laid down in the policy document have been implemented in their districts and at school level. At the school level, six secondary schools and six primary schools were selected on the following criteria:

- gender composition - single sex (boys and girls) and coeducation;
- status - day or boarding facilities;
- level of academic performance - high and low performers;

- the perceived nature of their product - pupils from high performing levels usually go on to receive university and further education because of their high achievement levels, facilities provided for in their schools and their advantaged socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. Pupils from low performing schools usually drop out of school after primary or secondary education because of several socio-cultural and economic problems, fewer facilities in their schools and lower academic achievement levels;
- diverse cultural backgrounds of the pupils.

In the six schools all the head teachers, both male and female teachers and both male and female pupils were targeted for interviews according to the status of the schools. The purpose of interviewing them was to obtain the views of the implementers and those whom policies target on what opportunities in education as laid down in the policy documents have been provided.

Sampling Procedure.

In this study, the researcher had to choose whom to talk to, what information sources to focus on and was therefore faced with a sampling decision about which districts, ministry of education officials, district education officers and schools to include. It was deemed important to sample both men and women, and girls and boys to provide an understanding of equal opportunities policies in education and to uncover gaps that could be filled by gaining an insight into their perceptions of equal opportunities in education. Miles and Huberman (1994) ask how one limits the parameters of a study? Morse (1994:226) observes that a good informant is one who has the knowledge and experience the researcher requires, has the ability to reflect, is articulate, has the time to be interviewed and is willing to participate in the study. On the basis of these observations I chose a sample that included people who would enable me to understand the phenomenon, experienced by a selected group of people. The research population was sampled using the 'purposive sampling' technique (Patton, 1990; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) whereby particular settings, persons or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that can not be obtained as well from other sources.

Maxwell (1996) listed possible goals for purposive sampling:

- to achieve representativeness or typicality of settings, individuals or activities selected;

- to adequately capture the heterogeneity in the population, to ensure that the conclusions adequately represent the entire range of variation rather than only the typical members or some subset of this range;
- to select cases that are critical for the original theories or those that may be subsequently developed;
- to establish particular comparisons to illuminate the reasons for differences between settings or individuals.

In the light of these goals, interviewing the research population at the three levels provided the back ground to studying key players' perceptions of equal opportunities and how they influence the implementation of policies in education for both boys and girls.

Taking advantage of opportunities presented to the researcher was another method used to obtain a sample. Teachers and pupils who were to be interviewed in groups were selected by one of the teachers who was chosen by head teachers to liase between the researcher and the research population. The research was conducted when schools were preparing for their end of term exams. To avoid upsetting school timetables and inconveniencing the teachers, a form of 'volunteer sampling' (Mwansa, 1996:183) procedure was used. The researcher asked to interview teachers and pupils who were free at the time of the interview, and were interested in equal opportunities and gender issues. The 'opportunity' and 'volunteer' sampling procedures, influenced by convenience and the interest of the researched, determined the size of the groups, which ranged from two to three teachers and from two to eight pupils. The disadvantage associated with this type of sampling was the lack of homogeneity in the size of the groups so that data from the smaller groups cannot therefore be generalisable to the larger population; and the over representation of people with strong views one way or the other on equal opportunities in education and gender.

Research techniques.

The study adopted an interview approach, using several techniques to provide a framework for respondents to express their own understandings in their own terms (Patton 1987:115). To achieve this objective, all interviews at the three levels were recorded using a Sony tape recorder, in order to capture the actual words of the person being interviewed (Patton, 1987:137). However, I experienced a few drawbacks that

many researchers who tape-record their interviews also experience such as batteries running out and disturbance from background noise. These were offset by taking notes which served two more purposes; to help to formulate new questions used to check out some thing said earlier; and to facilitate later analysis by helping to locate important quotations from the tape or transcripts (Patton, 1987:137).

Standardised open-ended interviews.

The nature of the research questions and structure of the research population necessitated using a standardised open-ended interview, 'carefully worded and arranged for the purpose of taking each respondent through the same sequence and asking each one the same questions with essentially the same words' (Patton, 1987:112). The specific research questions for the three levels were similar, but carefully worded to focus on specific categories of respondents. The purpose of using a standardised open-ended interview was to minimise variations in the questions posed to interviewees and to reduce interviewer effect and bias that can occur from having different interviews for different people (ibid. P.113).

The flexibility of qualitative studies in the designing and redesigning of the data collection procedure as well as process analysis (Burgess, 1985; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Crossley and Vulliamy, 1997), enables the researcher to triangulate the data by formulating and reformulating his or her work. Reformulation enables the researcher to generate theories and hypotheses from the data, in an attempt to avoid the imposition of a previous and inappropriate frame of reference on the subject of research. Any study undertaken is more convincing, making a complex situation more comprehensible, as the different kinds of data on the situation provide a check on each other. However, the standardised open-ended interview reduces the bias that can occur from having different interviews for different people. But the 'flexibility in probing' is limited if the researcher wants to control the amount of data from the different interviewees. Reducing bias from different sources and controlling data at the MoE and district levels solicited views mainly from the considered official version. The study would have been more illuminating if the information collected reflected both the official and personal views of policy on gender and equal opportunities in education.

Elite interviews.

Elite interviews were used for those who inform and implement policies at the MoE in the departments of the CE, the NCDC, UNEB, those who implement policies at the district level in the District Education Offices, and the head teachers who implement policies at school level. These elite individuals are the 'influential, the prominent and the well informed in organisations and communities' and were selected for interviews on the basis of their expertise in the implementation of policies in education (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). One of the advantages of holding elite interviews with such people is the valuable information that can be gained from them because of the senior positions. They provided an overall view of past and present policies on equal opportunities in education and gender, from the perspectives of their departments.

Marshall and Rossman identified several disadvantages of conducting elite interviews including accessibility to elite persons, their resentment of the restrictions of narrow or ill phrased questions, their tendency to take charge of the interview because of their long experience and the researcher having to adapt the planned for structure of the interview based on the wishes and predictions of the person interviewed. The main disadvantage I encountered in interviewing the elite related to their busy offices and schedules which sometimes curtailed interviews. Marshall and Rossman observed that the elite often respond well to enquiries about broad areas of context and, as I found out, it becomes increasingly difficult for the researcher to control the interview which may go on for a longer period of time than had originally been planned for. Because they are 'at home in the realm of ideas, policies and generalisations' (Marshall and Rossman, 1995), they can be selective with the type of information they give, depending on their individual perception of the problem under study. One disadvantage I noted in this study regarding elite individuals was that they delegate responsibilities to their subordinates. For example the senior officers from the office of the CE do not often go on school tours, but rely on reports from Inspectors of Schools. Their reports are often subject to inspector bias and other intervening variables. On the basis of these reports the officers gave me a global picture on equal opportunities in education and gender which may be in contradiction to what is happening on the ground in individual districts and schools.

Group Interviews.

Group interviews were designed to encourage a collective response from the teachers as implementers of educational policies at the classroom level, and the pupils for whom policies are intended, to identify each person's point of view, and to encourage people to express different points of view (Vaughn et al 1996). The group interviews were combined with the standardised open-ended interviews to obtain the same information from the same groups of teachers and the pupils. Like other writers, (particularly Russel, 1994; Pratt and Loizos, 1992; SCPR Technical Manual Series, 1973; Keegan and Powney, 1987; Lofland and Lofland, 1986; and Kane, 1987) I discovered that group interviews have advantages. Participants are not required to answer every question; their responses are more spontaneous and genuine; they are cheaper to conduct; the researcher gathers data from more people in the time it would take for an individual interview; they provide some quality control as participants tend to provide checks and balances on each other to weed out false or extreme views; they yield insights into why people think as they do on a particular issue, and how they construct it in their worlds. Another advantage of using group interviews lies in their ability to evoke diverse ideas, release inhibitions, stimulate new questions and reveal greater diversity and spontaneity of opinions (Erwin and Stewart, 1997).

The main disadvantage of group interviews, was the length of time required to conduct a group interview, if each participant is given the chance to give their point of view. Extensive probing was not always possible. Nor was it possible to get the required number of participants together at the same time. However, interviews with smaller groups of two to three people were found to be as rewarding as large group interviews. They were easier to control. It was easier to explore topics in more detail than in large groups as there were no time constraints. It was easier to establish more rapport with the participants than with large groups; and the possibility of one participant dominating the interview was reduced.

All these research techniques were used in an effort to ensure reliability and validity of the data collected, Patton (1987) noted that it is possible to combine different interview approaches. I combined elite interviews with standardised open-ended interviews, and group interviews with standardised open-ended interviews (see appendix, 4). The rationale behind this style combination was to ensure consistency in the research questions asked, as well as the data obtained. Fontana and Frey (1994),

and Denzin (cited by Maxwell, 1996) state that collecting information from a variety of interview methods (standardised open-ended interviews and elite interviews), a diverse range of individuals (men and women, girls and boys), and settings (MoE, district and school levels) allows the researcher to triangulate data. Complimentary data was further collected from education policy documents, government and district statistics on school populations and pupil enrolments. This secondary source of data served to reduce the researcher bias so that conclusions would not be drawn reflecting only the systematic biases or limitations of interview. Maxwell (1996) noted that using several data collection methods allows the researcher to gain a better assessment of the validity and generality of the explanations that may be developed.

Gaining Access.

On accessing the setting Frey and Fontana (1994:366) asked the question 'how do we get in?' and went on to note that gaining access varies with the group one is attempting to study. I obtained a letter of introduction addressed to whom it may concern from the school of education to assist me in gaining access. Attached to this letter was my own application letter to do research addressed to the Commissioner for Education (CE) in Uganda, in which I introduced my self as a teacher who was pursuing a higher degree. I was identified from the records of the Uganda Teaching Service of which every teacher must be a registered member. I met a senior female official in the MoE who helped me to identify the individuals and schools to participate in the study and, being a senior officer herself in the CE's office, I requested an interview with her. The information I obtained from her, as Miles and Huberman (1994) would say, might have led to researcher bias. It would have influencing the choice of some of the probing questions as a way of checking out what others had said; or decided the researcher against interviewing all the respondents. This would have posed a threat to validity in the conclusion regarding the selection of data. Possible researcher bias in this case was minimised by conducting all the interviews and triangulation by using a variety of methods.

I obtained permission in writing to do research from the Commissioner for Education copied to the research population and requesting them to give me the necessary assistance. Negotiating with authorities, as Drever (1995:41) observed, becomes simpler the more important the person you negotiate with. This observation proved true in this study in that, within two weeks of requesting for permission to do

research, I had already made appointments and embarked on conducting interviews with senior officers in the CE's office, NCDC, UNEB, District Education office and head teachers of schools. At the school level, apart from three head teachers who were personally known to me the, remaining three head teachers were strangers. I was well received in these schools and invited to join them for tea break and lunch. I was assigned co-ordinators, who were charged with the duty of enlisting the teachers and pupils whom I was to interview. In the all boys' school, I was not assigned to a co-ordinator. The head teacher directed me to the staff room to meet the teachers on my own, introduce my self to them and ask them to do interviews with me. But he found me one boy, whom I asked to find me about eight boys to do interviews with me. I met a female teacher whom I recognised from my secondary school and university days who was very welcoming. This made it easier for me to approach the others, six of whom (three females and three males) agreed to do interviews with me. The implication of these procedures was that I had to locate myself as a researcher among the researched and be accepted in their environments as one of them in order to be able to conduct interviews successfully.

To win the acceptance, confidence and to build a research relationship with the research population at the MoE, district and school levels, I introduced myself as an educationist like them, currently on study leave, and indicated that I would be quite happy to answer any questions they wanted to ask me about my background and my study. This put me in the position of a favoured guest. The disadvantage of this was that I could not explore issues in as great a depth as I would have liked to do, for fear of inconveniencing them further. Among the pupils in all the schools, I introduced myself as a student like them, and in the process of collecting information on the topic of giving equal 'chances' (opportunities) in education for both boys and girls. This style of introduction was done to relate more closely with the pupils and therefore to build on the relationship between the researched and researcher.

This approach to soliciting potential interviewees, as Maxwell (1996:91) says, may have resulted in the influence of the researcher on the setting or individuals studied or what he called 'reactivity'. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) noted that eliminating the actual influence of the researcher is impossible and that the goal in a qualitative study is not to eliminate this influence but to understand it and use it properly. As a teacher who had returned home to do research I was in the position of one who had

returned among family and friends. This could have had an influence on the data in that, as I was looking for a global picture on the provision of equal opportunities in education and gender, they may have told me what they thought would impress me as a researcher. Despite the seniority of the interviewees and their busy schedules at the MoE, district and school levels, they made it relatively easy for me to interview them, which may be attributed to a letter permitting me to do research in several departments from the CE's office. On the other hand, they may have been influenced by the traditional cultural norms surrounding my relationship with the researched. At the policy level and district levels, I interviewed older and very senior men and women, whom I would never have had the occasion to meet had it not been for my status as a research student doing a higher degree. Secondly, they were in very busy offices so that granting me an interview was a favour, and therefore I was aware of some constraints in the way of probing for fear of irritating them with endless questions.

Ethical considerations.

Fontana and Frey (1994:372) remind researchers that, as the objects are human beings, extreme care must be taken to avoid doing any harm to them. This situation involves obtaining their informed consent, observing their rights to privacy (protecting their identities), protecting them from harm which may be physical or emotional (by the way researchers ask questions and reporting their findings), and defining how far the researcher may involve him or herself in the public office or school matters. Burgess (1989:60) cited Punch (1986) who noted that pivotal to the whole relationship between researched and researcher is access and acceptance. According to Burgess, such a position contains a number of ethical implications about openness, trust, commitment and confidentiality. The relationship implies a respect for the rights of the individual whose privacy is not invaded and who is not harmed, deceived, betrayed or exploited. Yet Burgess wonders whether ethical problems are of any real significance in educational research in general or in ethnographic research in education in particular. I left it to the respondents to inform me whether what they told me was in confidence or not. I thought about and to a large extent followed the ethical procedure but chose not to promise confidentiality to the interviewees because I felt that:

- the questions asked revolved around their perceptions of equal opportunities in education for all;
- gender and equal opportunities not only in education but in other sectors are openly on the political agenda in government policies and strategies to improve the status of women in society, therefore I saw nothing to be kept confidential;
- the open-ended interview schedules were given to the interviewees for about a week in advance so they would have noticed questions which required confidentiality and therefore known how to respond to them in a manner that would not put their positions or offices in jeopardy;
- one of the purposes of the study is to inform policy in the provision of equal opportunities in education. If facts are hidden because they are confidential, then there will never be policy changes to provide opportunities in education for all;
- positive and negative approaches to the provision of equal opportunities in education are always written about and discussed in the media and within the communities, because of the freedom of speech and association policies currently being enjoyed in the country as accountability measures. Establishing facts through research and challenging the existing situation which impedes the provision of opportunities in education to all is one of the strategies which has been employed in Uganda to redress gender inequalities.

The research process.

One of the debates raging between the feminist and the post-positivist research traditions concerns the issue of power relations between the researcher and the researched. Feminist researchers claim that researchers using qualitative methods though not constrained by pre-coded questions, are nevertheless exhorted by text book guidelines, to be emotionally detached, calculating and in control of the collection of data. Maynard (1994:15) noted that those researched from the qualitative research perspective are regarded as the passive givers of information, with the researcher acting as a sponge soaking up the details provided. Whether feminists reject such power hierarchy between researcher and researched in favour of a non-exploitative one, depends on the position of the researched in society and the benefits accruing to both the researcher and researched from the results of the study. My experience, while soliciting teachers to do interviews with me in one particular school, revealed that they were of the opinion that the main beneficiaries from research projects are the

researchers. They publish their work; they receive financial remuneration from funding bodies; and, after the research, researchers do not send back written reports so the researched do not get to read them to see their contribution; projects which result from such research do not directly influence their lives except the lives of project managers and a few of the targeted beneficiaries of policies resulting from such projects.

This study was informed and influenced by the feminist research approach, and it was felt appropriate that the issue of power relations in the interview process should be explored. Limerick et al (1996) stated that power relations in the interview process are grounded in the masculinist positivistic paradigm, which encompasses several assumptions:

- unidirectional flow of information from interviewees to interviewers;
- the sovereignty of the objectivity;
- And the value of de-contextualising and depersonalising the interview relationship.

They further note that these assumptions (which they cited from Oakley, 1981) deny the agency of interviewees and dis-empower the research subject. They go on to state that advocates of the research interview relationship assume that power in the relationship is dichotomous, asymmetrical and favours the interviewer, which creates a de-personalising, exploitative and patronising relationship. According to Limerick et al there is argument among researchers that the complexities of the power dynamics that exist in research relationships should be acknowledged and discussed by researchers with reference to actual research experience. My own experience of power relations as outlined in the research process, on the basis of the above cited assumptions, led me to conclude that, contrary to what feminist researchers maintain, the researched too can exhibit various forms of power in terms of their status in society and age which can influence the data. The power relations regarding the researcher and the researched in this study are summarised (table 3.1, appendix 5).

At the MoE and district levels where the study was conducted males hold senior positions while the females were assistants, which meant that I had to interview the women after the men. However, due to the 'flexibility of qualitative studies in their design and redesign' (Burgess, 1985; Crossley and Vulliamy, 1997) there was no specific order of who was to be interviewed first or last. Appointments for interviews were based on the availability of time and convenience of the researched and therefore

either female or male could be interviewed first or last. I began the interview by giving the respondents a brief background of my status as a student, my area of academic interest and what my study was about and requested their permission to tape record the interview. On making appointments for the interview I would always leave behind a copy of the open-ended interview schedule so that respondents could have an idea of the field we would be addressing. However, there is a debate among qualitative researchers on how much a researcher should tell the participants about the study. Drever (1995:41) stated that:

as a rule, you would not reveal the main questions. You want the interview to unfold naturally, and you do not want them to read up, talk to others and prepare answers in advance.

This is contrary to what I did which was a disadvantage in that answers did not unfold naturally. However, Drever also stated that if you are interviewing some one in a policy making position and you want them to give a considered official view, you may submit the main questions in advance as they may insist on them. I did this and a result of preparing themselves in advance they were factual and the interview took a shorter time than would have otherwise been the case. There were many telephone interruptions, many other people waiting to see them as well as pending meetings so that in the end I did not have to inconvenience them by taking long to complete an interview. Another added advantage was that by preparing themselves before hand, some of the researched were able to refer me to other researchers on gender and equal opportunities, provide documents on recent policy changes on gender and statistics on school enrolment and retention of boys and girls to validate their facts. Another advantage of leaving the questions behind was noted from a group interview with girls in a single sex boarding school, where the girls were able to raise several issues on equal opportunities and gender regarding single sex and coeducation schools.

Measor's (1985) experience as a researcher led her to state that appearance and particularly clothes, was an important issue in researching pupils and teachers, although each group had different requirements. Appearance carries messages about the type of person that you are. In Ugandan culture, and particularly in education, respectability goes with dress and conduct. Teachers are expected to dress well but conservatively as gentlemen and ladies, to set a good example, particularly to girl pupils. Female teachers are not expected to wear trousers or short skirts and dresses, whereas male teachers wear shorts and T-shirts only during physical education. In

other public offices, the dress codes are more or less the same, and in some public places a female dressed in a short skirt and dress may sometimes be the victim of male mob justice and female ridicule. In the early 1970s, Uganda was declared to be a Muslim country and some forms of dressing were banned in favour of others for example to avoid being physically harassed, women are not expected to over expose parts of their bodies. With this background, I dressed according to the expected dress code and my appearance, I believe, enabled me to gain acceptance among the researched and to conduct the interviews within the time I did.

Measor (1985:75) observed that what the interviewer is influenced and maybe determines the kind of data he or she receives. These influences include age, gender and ethnicity. In this study, I discovered that beside those factors, there were others such as status in relation to the researched, area of study in relation to policy and political situation in the country and cultural norms and values, which influenced and determined the data. In researching gender, I discovered that men and boys are as capable of giving extensive data as girls and women. This was contrary to Measor's experiences. From the men and boys, I learned about strategies that have been implemented and continuing shortcomings in gender and equal opportunities policies in education. The women and girls, whom I related to as someone of the same sex, focused more on inequalities for girls still to be addressed. Unlike the men and boys, the women and girls did not refer to strategies, which had already been implemented. I did not experience any problems as a female researcher researching men and fellow women, apart from respect, appreciation, and encouragement for the higher degree that I was doing. Some of the female researched saw me as a role model and academic challenge especially as I was a woman and younger than some of them.

Age may have influenced the kind of data I collected, as at the most senior, district and head teacher levels, all the respondents were older than me. This meant I aimed to create a respectful distance. Their senior positions limited the establishment of rapport. I was still a student and traditional norms and values demand respect for seniors. This prevented me from probing further on some issues in case I was seen as arrogant and disrespectful. I was very much the subordinate. I did not know what I was going to do or which office I would be posted to on completion of my study and I would be reporting to one of these interviewees for re-posting so it was better to play it safe. At school level, where many of the teachers were around my age and even

younger, I found it easy to relate to them and the interviews proceeded smoothly as if I was talking to my former colleagues. I related to the pupils as a student, but, unconsciously perhaps, I was still a teacher and tended to establish more of a teacher-student relationship instead of creating more rapport with them. The disadvantage was that I was more of a new teacher, meeting her pupils for the first time and they were not as forthcoming in responding to the questions as they would be with a teacher they are used to.

Status of the researcher in relation to the respondents may to a certain extent have influenced and determined the data collected. I was the uninformed one looking for information. The researched on the other hand were the informed ones, because they were involved in formulating, implementing and benefiting from the policies on gender and equal opportunities in education and their knowledge and experience were crucial to the study. The topic itself may have influenced the data collected. Gender, which from the Ugandan perspective is interpreted to mean women, is seen as emphasising girls because they are on the political agenda. All government policies reflect the policy of affirmative action. Irritability, especially among the male respondents and a few females, was observed in this study until I made it clear that my study also focused on boys. This situation may have influenced male and female respondents, depending on their official positions, leading them to giving me the considered official version and not their individual perceptions of gender and education in Uganda. Cultural norms and values based on traditional clan lineage may have influenced the research process as some of the researched were related to me culturally, while in some other cases the researched and I knew many people in common. Such situations led to incidences where I was accepted, taken in confidence and trusted, making it possible for the smooth running of the interviews. On the other hand the friendly interview atmosphere may have been exploited by the researched to impress the researcher of their awareness of gender issues and equal opportunities in education.

All the factors discussed above in the research process may have influenced the authenticity, validity and reliability of the study, thereby fulfilling fears of qualitative research held by researchers in the dominant positivist research tradition. Borg and Gall (1989) declared that the researcher's values interpretations, feelings and musings have no place in the positivist's view of scientific enquiry. Because the study must be

objective, it is devoid of any form of bias which may characterise a largely qualitative study. However, reporting the research process, as has been undertaken in Swandt and Halpern's (1988) model of 'audit and trial' provides a validation device. According to Crossley and Vulliamy (1996:246), Swandt and Halpern's 'audit trial' model:

- forces researchers to keep careful records of the details of their research, including the actual procedures used in data collection and analysis. This tends to result in researchers approaching their task in a more self critical and systematic way;
- can provide readers with the kind of information they require in assessing the trustworthiness of a piece of research.

It is hoped that such self-criticism in reporting the process of research will contribute towards establishing the validity and reliability of this study, and further contribute to the debate between quantitative and qualitative research methods, on rigour in reporting studies.

Data analysis procedure.

This section provides a detailed report of the process of data analysis which characterised this study, based on the Swandt and Halpern's 'audit trial' model cited by Crossley and Vulliamy (1996:446) to provide validity for the findings. They said that:

the validation of the data concerns the processes whereby researchers can both have confidence in their own analysis and can present their analyses in ways which can be independently checked by others.

The process of data analysis was influenced by Miles and Huberman's (1994:5) observation that:

research is more of a craft than a slavish adherence to methodological rules... no study conforms exactly to a standard methodology; each one calls for the researcher to bend the methodology to the peculiarities of the setting.

From this observations a number of approaches were used to analyse the data. The process of analysis drew on Glaser and Strauss's (1967) constant comparative method, which is an inductive method of analysis in which the generation and development of theory is a continuous process. The concern was to 'generate and provide an integrated, limited, precise, universally applicable theory of causes accounting for a specific behaviour' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:104). Data was not analysed immediately, but was left to pile up for several reasons:

- to avoid reading earlier interviews, which might have biased the later ones by asking leading, follow up questions as a way of verifying what the other interviewee in the same department or school had said;
- time was limited, as appointments for interviews with the research population at the MoE and district levels were at short notice and I was allowed to conduct one interview only because of their busy schedules. At the school level, schools were preparing for their end of term exams after which pupils were to break off for their holidays while teachers are too involved in marking exams and writing reports to grant interviews.

Therefore analysis was not possible in the field, as I was more involved with preparing for next interviews.

The analysis of the standardised elite and group open-ended interviews were modelled upon a three-stage procedure proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). The model consists of three concurrent flows of activity namely, data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification (figure 3.2, appendix 6) all of which characterised the present study. The process of analysis started with a verbatim transcription of the recorded interviews, starting with the most senior level in the MoE, down to the district and school levels. The transcripts were read and reread while at the same time listening to the tapes to check for grammatical errors and missing words, which could have altered the data. The next phase involved categorising the research population (tables 3.2 and 3.3, appendices 7-8) at the MoE and district levels into pairs, all males, all females and across pairs, which made it easier to carry out cross comparisons and analysis of data.

At the school level, data analysis, which included the analysis of group interviews, was carried out first in individual schools, analysing data for individual head teachers, groups of male teachers, female teachers, female pupils, and male pupils. To carry out a cross comparison and analysis, the population was further categorised into all head teachers, female teachers, male teachers, female pupils and male pupils (table 3.4, appendix 9) and all males and all females (figure 3.3, appendix 10). This style of categorisation made it possible for the researcher to learn what was said at the school level in relation to the three research questions on gender and the provision of equal opportunities in education.

The third phase involved using the grounded theory approach of coding and categorising the data in which, according to Strauss and Corbin (1990), data are broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, compared for similarities and differences and questions asked about the phenomena as reflected in the data. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) and Coffey and Atkinson (1996), this process of data reduction is a form of analysis that sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards and organises data into analysable units within and from the data in such a way that final conclusions can be drawn and verified. The coding process was based on the 'open coding' approach, whereby a line by line reading and re-reading of the transcripts was undertaken to 'inductively develop broad categories' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), taken from the 'conceptual structure of the people studied' (Maxwell 1996:79). The data sorted out in broad categories, were re-arranged and typed into summaries which were read side by side to direct comparisons between individuals, by pairs within the same office, and across pairs in different offices at the MoE and district levels. The summaries are presented in the appendices, which are bound in separate volume.

At the school level, the schools, which were sampled for the study, were not homogeneous. Some were single-sex boarding; coeducation, day; coeducation day and boarding; high and low performing; and primary and secondary and appeared to have individual problems reflecting their own environments. The analysis procedure used at the MoE and district levels was followed with individual head teachers, which later enabled cross comparisons and descriptive analyses and summaries of data in individual and across schools. The analysis of group interviews was carried out in the same way as the analysis of the elite interviews. According to Carey (1994:233):

the analysis of group interviews is similar in general to other qualitative data analysis with the added dimension of the group context. ...the concern of generalisation for focus groups is similar to this concern in other qualitative data analysis.

In particular, Vaughn et al's (1996) approach of identifying themes and providing supporting evidence for these themes from participants' quotes was deemed appropriate in the analysis of teachers' and pupils' group interviews. Groups of teachers and pupils were treated to standardised open ended interviews similar to those treated to the researched in the CE, NCDC, UNEB DEO's and head teachers, although in the case of group interviews they were constructed to focus on whole

groups. However, the analysis of the elite interviews generated patterns and themes, which could be identified in the specific group interview data.

The next process was to display data which, according to Miles and Huberman (1994), is an organised compressed assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing. In this process, data for the individual respondents at the MoE, District and school levels were further summarised and neatly typed in data display tables. The displayed data were read side by side and compared in order to note similarities and differences and to generate questions about possible meanings whether intended or assumed by the interviewees. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), it is essential to identify and categorise concepts, break through assumptions, and uncover specific dimensions that would assist the researcher in developing themes and concepts. Glaser and Strauss (1967:103) noted:

the constant comparative method cannot be used for both provisional testing and discovering theory; in theoretical sampling the data collected are not extensive enough and because of theoretical saturation are coded extensively enough to yield provisional tests. They are coded only enough to generate, hence to suggest theory. Partial testing of theory when necessary, is left to more rigorous approaches although sometimes qualitative, but usually quantitative.

While constantly comparing incidents about the provision of equal opportunities to both boys and girls from the perspectives of those who inform and implement policy at the MoE, those who implement policy at the district and school levels and those whom policies target at the classroom levels, it was realised that all the interviewees had different perceptions of equal opportunities in education. For instance:

- the men and boys perceived it as a fairly simple issue of providing opportunities to increase access, enrolment and retention for all. The women and girls perceived it as a more complex issue to increase access, enrolment and retention of girls within the system of education, which must involve gender specific strategies;
- the simplicity and complexity of the process of providing equal opportunities in education for both boys and girls led to the realisation that the outcome of policies implemented to provide equal opportunities were in themselves paradoxical.

As the properties and categories emerged, two properties were discovered which, according to Glaser and Strauss (1967:107), involve those which the analyst constructs (different perceptions of equal opportunities) and those that are abstracted from the language of the research (paradoxes). This process involved what Miles and Huberman (1994:69) call pattern coding, whereby just naming or classifying what is

out there is usually not enough as there is need for understanding patterns, the recurrences, and the plausible why's. According to Miles and Huberman pattern coding has four important functions:

- it reduces large amounts of data into a smaller number of analytic units;
- it gets the researcher into analysis during data collection so that later field work can be more focused;
- it helps the researcher to elaborate a cognitive map, an evolving, more integrated schema for understanding local incidents and interactions;
- for multi-case studies it lays the groundwork for cross case analysis by surfacing common themes and directional process.

These functions directed the later part of the analysis procedure and the presentation of the findings in the following chapter on data analysis.

The next phase in the analytic process was the composition of reports to answer the research questions according to the categorised research population. During this phase, both international and Ugandan literature on gender and the provision of equal opportunities in education were revisited to understand the problems and issues raised both in the research process and literature. The whole data analysis procedure was characterised by 'low-tech' methods in spite of the relatively large sample and amount of data collected which would have necessitated analysis by computer. But, as Miles and Huberman (1994:79) noted, 'working by hand is slower but it seems the simplest way of synthesising the findings to date, and of becoming aware of the questions still unanswered or equivocally answered'. As a first time qualitative researcher, it is this 'simplest way of synthesising the findings' which was deemed more appropriate than the sophisticated computer which may not have produced the same experience of data analysis.

Strengths of the study.

Critics of qualitative research point to its limitations, compared to quantitative research. Denzin (1994: 295) noted that a double crisis of 'representation' and 'legitimation' confronts qualitative researchers in the human disciplines, which make problematic two key assumptions, namely:

- the representation crisis - where researchers can no longer directly capture the lived experience as it is created in the social text written by the researcher, within the framework that makes the direct link between experience and text problematic;
- and the legitimation crisis - where the traditional criteria for evaluating and interpreting qualitative research involves a rethinking of terms like validity, generalizability and reliability.

Denzin rounds off by asking; 'how are qualitative studies to be evaluated in the contemporary, critical, post structural moment?'

In this study validity and reliability were addressed reflecting Hammersley's (1992:57) model in which he urges researchers to assess their work in terms of its ability to:

- (a) generate generic/formal theory;
- (b) be empirically grounded and scientifically credible;
- (c) provide findings that can be generalised or transferred to other settings;
- (d) be internally reflexive in terms of taking account of the effects of the researcher and the research strategy on the findings which have been produced.

In the light of these criteria, the methods of data collection (standardised elite interviews at the MoE, district and school levels; and focus group open ended interviews at the school and classroom levels and documentary sources); diversity of population (women, men, girls and boys); and setting (MoE, district and school levels) were used as a form of data triangulation to ensure validity, reliability and generalizability of the research findings. The findings from this study have illuminated the problem of gender inequality in Uganda in spite of the policies implemented. Using a quantitative approach would not have drawn out the different individual perceptions of equal opportunities in education or the paradoxes which indicate that the implemented policies result in inequalities not only for those they are designed to advantage but also those who are deemed to be advantaged. Studying girls and boys, women and men alongside each other breaks ground in providing a new framework for studying gender and equal opportunities for boys and girls in Uganda.

Limitations of the study.

The study was limited in its use of the interview as the sole data collection tool. At school level the scope of inquiry was limited by the varying sizes of the groups of teachers and pupils who participated in the study. Using observations would have

broadened the scope by allowing the researcher to see the nature of opportunities provided for both boys and girls instead of relying on their spoken word, although some of the opportunities may not have been visible. The standardised open-ended interviews used to generate theory resulted in limitations in their flexibility to generate probes, as the required data had to be systematic. Carey (1994:233) observed that 'data from a focus group session could be thought of as potentially incompletely collected'. In the focus group interviews, it was not easy to get the required minimum number of participants in a group session. Findings from group sessions therefore may appear ungeneralisable to a larger population. However, what is collected, though possibly subject to some constraints represents the 'reality of the experiences of the group members (Carey 1994) which highlight some of the problems that policy makers should be aware of in formulating and implementing policy on gender in education.

The next chapter provides a detailed presentation and analysis of the findings from the study, demonstrating the key players' perceptions of equal opportunities in education at the MoE, district and school levels.

Chapter Four

CHAPTER FOUR.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS.

Study population context.

The study was conducted at three levels, the MoE in the departments of the Commissioner for Education (CE), the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC), and the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB). At the district level, in the District Education Offices (DEO) and at the primary and secondary school level in three districts.

Commission for Education (CE).

This office was designed to strengthen professional leadership in the MoE, district and school levels. It is charged with ensuring proper co-ordination of the administrative and supervisory functions, in various departments and institutions functioning under it; informing and implementing educational policies; liaising with other autonomous bodies like NCDC and UNEB, and posting administrative staff and teachers to schools. The department is run by a commissioner, assisted by several deputy commissioners who are in charge of various sub-departments like higher education, secondary and primary schools.

National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC).

The NCDC undertakes the development, research and evaluation of the curriculum and school textbooks, liaising with development agencies, relevant ministries and other bodies of the MoE. The centre monitors problems involving the implementation of the curriculum at the school level, such as insufficient teaching materials and insufficient qualified teaching staff. It also monitors the teaching of non-examination subjects and the number of subjects on the school curriculum relative to the set school time. The NCDC is under the general administration of a Director who is assisted by various subject specialists.

Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB).

The board is responsible for conducting public examinations at the end of the different stages of education. PLE at the end of primary school education, UCE and UACE at the end of ordinary and advanced level secondary school education,

technical schools after primary school education and technical institutes at the end of O and A level education. The importance attached to examinations is crucial as they are meant not only for certification but also for selecting candidates for admission to higher stages of education, and therefore influences teaching at school level towards achieving good results. A chairman assisted by several examination officers runs the department.

District Education Office (DEO).

This office was established to strengthen planning and administrative functions at the district level. It has direct links with the MoE in all matters except inspection and supervision of post primary institutions, for which some regional staff may be necessary. The District Education Officer (DEO) has overall charge of both administration and inspection of schools; is responsible for dealing with all matters pertaining to education in the district and is answerable to the District Council and the CE. The DEO acts as secretary to the District Education Committee (DEC) and is their professional advisor; and prepares the annual estimates of the DEC and takes executive actions on its behalf.

The DEO advises the school management committees and primary school head teachers on matters concerning timetables and syllabuses, and government policies. Other duties include arranging for inspection of primary schools; organising refresher courses and recommending teachers for upgrading courses; arranges for the payment of grants for school buildings, equipment and furniture, and salaries to primary school teachers. The DEO is responsible for proper collection of school fees and handling head teachers' requisition for money to run certain services in the schools. He or she is also responsible for the discipline of the teachers and pupils, keeps records on school enrolment and drop out rates of pupils and furnishes the ministry with statistics on aspects of education in the district.

School level (primary and secondary schools).

At the school level, schools 1 (single sex girls), 2 (single sex boys), and 3 (co-education) and the adjacent primary schools (a) single sex girls, (b) single sex boys, and (c) coeducation have boarding facilities and are among some of the high performing schools in the country. These schools were founded and funded by the Protestant and Roman Catholic religious bodies to train future leaders who were

mainly, the sons of chiefs and princes although at the moment they admit children on academic ability. Today the parents largely fund these schools with the government playing a small part in paying teachers salaries and limited capitation grant per pupil in the school. Secondary schools 4 (day), 5 (boarding) and 6 (day and boarding) and primary schools, (d) day, (e) day and boarding and (f) boarding are coeducational, and were founded largely by private bodies and parents. Parents and the government, which has a greater say in the appointment of head teachers, now fund them. Compared to the first category of schools, these schools are low academic performers, and have relatively recently been established. They are also cheaper and therefore more affordable by many parents.

Presentation of findings.

Glaser and Strauss' (1967) constant comparative method of data analysis revealed that respondents at the three levels had their own individual perceptions of equal opportunities in education. From the individual and group perceptions of equal opportunities in education for both boys and girls, several themes were found to be consistent with developing countries' problems of access, enrolment and retention identified in the review of literature. Within each theme, a number of sub-themes were identified and these constitute the organising themes for presenting the data. Edited transcripts of the interview data are presented in a separate volume.

Theme 1: Perceptions of equal opportunities in education.

- (a) Equal opportunities in access.
- (b) Equal opportunities in enrolment and retention.
- (c) Equal opportunities in addressing discrimination practices between boys and girls.
- (d) Equal opportunities in competition between girls and boys.
- (e) Equal opportunities in leadership.

Theme 2: Perceptions of gender inequality as a continuing problem.

- (a) Problem in enrolment.
- (b) Problem in retention.
- (c) Problem of discrimination between boys and girls.
- (d) Problem of over protection of girls.
- (e) Problem of inequalities in academic performance.

Theme 3: Causes of inequalities.

- (a) Social causes.
- (b) Cultural causes.
- (c) Economic causes.
- (d) Physiological and biological causes.
- (e) Attitudinal causes.

Theme 4: Strategies to provide equal opportunities in education.

- (a) Increase access and enrolment.
- (b) Increase retention.
- (c) Increase interaction between girls and boys.
- (d) Increase academic competition between boys and girls.

Theme 5: Perceptions of gender inequality as a problem within the system, or outside the system of education.

This theme was not divided into sub-themes, because some interviewees perceived it as a continuing problem within the system of education while others did not. It was therefore looked at as a whole theme to strengthen the argument of a continuing problem, or as a problem which, according to some interviewees, no longer existed within the system of education.

Findings relative to these themes are presented in the rest of the chapter, according to how interviewees from the CE, NCDC, UNEB, DEO, head teachers, male and female teachers and female and male pupils perceived them. Data to illustrate their perceptions is presented separately in the appendix. Each theme and sub-theme is described relative to policy implemented to provide equal opportunities in education for all. The interpretations are within broader frameworks of individual departmental roles, individual district characteristics and problems and individual schools with their own environments and problems. The outcome of the interpretation of these broad themes was the emergence of a number of paradoxes, which are presented separately in this chapter. Indeed, the concept of paradox emerged as central to the analysis and is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Theme 1: Perceptions of equal opportunities in education.

Equal opportunities in education for both boys and girls, was found to mean different and contradictory things to different people within and across departments.

At the MoE level, there were variations in the perceptions of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls, between two respondents in the same department and among respondents across the CE, NCDC and UNEB departments. They saw it as a means of:

- increasing accessibility and enrolment of girls in schools (CE);
- increasing the enrolment and retention of girls (NCDC);
- testing pupils for academic performance and achievement (UNEB).

There were differences in men and women's perceptions too. The CE female perceives equal opportunities as a complex issue in which although opportunities have been provided, more needs to be done to increase the number of girls in secondary schools. Her male counterpart perceives equal opportunities as a relatively simple issue of increasing the number of schools to at least parish level (something which has already been undertaken) to provide access for both boys and girls.

The NCDC male thought girls should be provided with a tailored curriculum to retain their interest in school and remain within the system of education. His female counterpart perceives it as a more complex issue of using the curriculum to change attitudes and behaviours throughout society, and thereby reduce ignorance on the role of women in national development and the division of labour in the home. The new attitudes give girls more incentive and time to stay in schools and study as the boys do. Further she advocated special programmes to enable girls to re-enter mainstream education after giving birth (re-accessibility and re-enrolment). These are not currently provided for.

The UNEB female saw the provision of equal opportunities as a complex issue of providing knowledge to both boys and girls, which would enable them to be tested for academic achievement. For her male colleague it meant simply setting exams that do not discriminate, either boys or girls in testing for academic achievement. A further constant comparative analysis of the three pairs NCDC/CE, UNEB/CE, and UNEB/NCDC revealed perceptions relating to departmental role specialisation. For example:

- (a) the CE's office is concerned with providing opportunities that would create conditions to increase the accessibility and enrolment of boys and girls;
- (b) the NCDC role is to provide programmes within the curriculum which would attract girls' interest in education and to change society's attitudes to gender through

addressing the division of labour in the home. This would provide girls with more time to study and to remain within the system of education;

(c) UNEB is charged with the role of providing opportunities for a fair examination system to test pupils for academic performance and achievement.

The male district officer respondents and the female from Masaka perceive equal opportunities in education as a means of increasing accessibility, enrolment and retention of boys and girls. The two exceptions, both females from Mpigi and Kampala, perceive equal opportunities as a means of addressing discrimination practices between boys and girls. They looked at the issue from different angles. From a government policy perspective they thought that primary schools must be mixed, but because of historical and religious principles of the foundation bodies, some of the girls' schools in the district are still single sex. Parents' attitudes towards the education of girls also favour single sex schools for their daughters and school population percentages between boys and girls show inequalities in enrolment and retention. At the district level therefore, perceptions of equal opportunities in education involve:

- (a) increasing the enrolment and retention of boys and girls; and
- (b) addressing discrimination practices between boys and girls.

At the secondary school level the constant comparative method of analysis revealed variations in the perceptions of equal opportunities in education. Head teachers (who were mostly male), female and male teachers, and male and female pupils perceive equal opportunities as means of increasing:

- enrolment;
- competition between boys and girls;
- increasing strategies to remove discrimination practices between boys and girls; and
- participation of girls in school leadership.

These perceptions, which differ between single sex and coeducation schools, relate to the daily-lived experiences resulting from the interaction between head teachers, teachers and pupils, at the wider school and classroom levels; comparisons of gender situations in other schools and outside the system of education; general school rules and regulations, and general opinions on the current affirmative action policy to increase the number of girls in secondary schools and higher education.

At the primary school level, there were variations in the perceptions of equal opportunities in education, which was taken to mean increasing:

- enrolment of girls;
- competition between boys and girls;
- future leadership among women;
- women's future roles in development.

The deputy heads and teachers' viewed primary education as the formative stage, which is sometimes the terminal stage for a large number of children. If children are to lead constructive adult lives, and in the wake of the gender sensitisation drive currently going on in the country, both boys and girls should be accorded the same opportunities as they are all capable of the same achievements. The pupils' perceptions of equal opportunities reflect their attitude towards themselves as boys and girls; academic abilities of girls in relation to the boys; experiences with women's capabilities as able performers in politics, in looking after their parents; and in several other fields like engineering.

Sub-theme 1 (a) Equal opportunities in access and enrolment.

All respondents saw gender equality in education as central and interpreted the term equal opportunities as 'equal opportunities for every one'. Government policy on education contained in the government white paper of 1989 does not discriminate against any group. It requires equal opportunities for all. However, the CE female considers opportunities in education to be unequal. Girls in particular are more disadvantaged than boys in terms of access and enrolment for both boys and girls. Her male colleague on the other hand views opportunities in education as equal. He stated that, according to the new government policy:

all new grant aided schools must be mixed and day. We do not encourage boarding schools except in very specific geographically disadvantaged areas, very remote areas and in areas where girls are disadvantaged. But otherwise schools must be mixed so that they are open to everybody and give equal opportunity to everybody at the secondary level.

This implies that access and enrolment is a general problem among boys and girls, which requires simply a common strategy of coeducation day schools to solve it. While the female is of the view that access and enrolment is a largely girls' problem and that government should address it by:

establishing more girls educational institutions as those that were established to cater for girls' education did not cater for it such that the accessibility to good education for

them was limited. Much as the mixed secondary schools are equally open to both boys and girls, facilities were fewer for the girls than the boys and the competition between boys and girls is stiff which makes them less conducive for girls to enrol.

This suggests a contradiction and a paradox in the policy on education which, though meant to be open to both boys and girls, it is more open to boys than girls. The female CE implies that both the previous and the current school systems limited and still limit girls' access and enrolment to schools. In contrast the male implies that the new policy has made education more accessible to more people resulting in increased enrolment for boys and girls.

The NCDC female perceives equal opportunities in the light of increasing the 're-accessibility' and 're-enrolment' of pregnant girls and girl mothers, into the school system. She observed that:

there are no special programmes for girls who become pregnant, although some have tried to re-enter main stream education. In Uganda there is only one school, which adopted an official policy to allow girls to re-register after giving birth.

Contrary to allowing pregnant girls and mothers to remain within the school system, school 4 (which has a high rate of early pregnancies among young girls in the lower secondary level) adopted a policy to protect other girls from negative influences. It involves expelling pregnant girls who if allowed to stay may influence others, resulting into large numbers dropping out due to early pregnancies. The head teacher however considers it unfair to send away only the pregnant girls and leave the boys who are responsible, to carry on with their studies. To be 'fair' to the pregnant girls the equal opportunities policy of the school is to send away the boy friends responsible as well. He stated that:

in the past our school rules stated that if a girl got pregnant she had to go, while now if a girl got pregnant she is made to leave with the boyfriend who is responsible for that pregnancy.

Paradoxically the stand in school 4 contradicts the government policy of increasing equal opportunities for boys and girls. While the CE and NCDC are aiming at increasing access and enrolment, the head teacher is aiming at fairness to the girls. His school policy in particular denies opportunities in access and enrolment to pregnant girls, and their boyfriends which may reflect on their low retention in school.

The different perspectives of equal opportunities in access and enrolment expressed so far at the MoE and school levels rest on differing professional conceptions of

gender inequality in education. From the CE female's perspective, inequalities are manifested in a coeducation school policy, which still limits girls' access and enrolment to education. From the male's perspective, coeducation schools are accessible to more people unlike single sex schools thereby increasing enrolment for boys and girls. From the NCDC female's perspective inequalities are manifested in the lack of programmes to allow pregnant girls to continue with their studies and to readmit schoolgirl mothers. From the perspective of the head teacher of school 4 inequalities are manifested in school policies, which expel pregnant girls and allow the boyfriends responsible to carry on with their studies. The perceptions of these key players in the implementation of educational policy summarise the dilemmas involved in providing equal opportunities in access to and enrolment into education for both boys and girls. The paradox is that, each one carries the implicit danger of creating greater inequalities in educational opportunities in accessibility and enrolment for both boys and girls.

Sub-theme 1 (b): Equal opportunities in enrolment and retention.

The policy on increasing and retaining school population gives another dimension to the meaning of equal opportunities in education. Government policy is to increase retention for both boys and girls in the system of education. From the NCDC male's perspective low retention especially among girls is a result of the curriculum, which they do not find interesting. Therefore, the policy is to:

design a programme which both male and female students see as catering for their felt needs, studying subjects like home economics or other sciences provides an opening for them in terms of employment. Design sex education programmes to protect the girl child from destruction by modifying both girls' and boys' behaviours.

According to him many girls have rediscovered their interests in the curriculum and now choose to stay on in school. Also many girls now survive secondary school education unlike in the past where half the number would not survive due to incidences of early pregnancies. Although specific curriculum programmes like home economics are designed to retain girls' interest in education, the paradox is that they restrict boys and girls to traditional male and female subject domains. This inequality is expressed in the CE female's observations that:

the curriculum was designed to be gender blind in that it makes it possible for girls to be attracted to subjects like home economics while boys are attracted to agriculture. The stereotyping in the school textbooks indirectly gives messages to girls to keep away from a particular subject.

At the primary school level, enrolment is seen as a demand driven exercise where parents hold the decision to take their children to school or not. The demand is determined by parents' financial position, therefore the retention of boys and girls within the system of education requires more than curriculum programmes. The DEO Masaka male noted that:

we have incentive grants schemes and other financial projects in our schools whereby funding bodies recommend that where the beneficiaries are pupils, the girls should be given priority over the boys.

While both boys and girls may have the same financial problem in terms of school fees, the incentive grant schemes place priority on girls thereby placing boys in a disadvantaged position.

From the perspectives of the boys at the secondary and primary school levels, the community and the girls themselves determine retention of girls. One boy from school 2 believes that the retention of girls has to do with their attitude towards themselves and education. He noted that:

we are given equal opportunities but it is the way we use them that matters. Girls tend to have a higher drop out rate than boys do because they believe that they can get married at any time while the boys have to work. So may be in higher school and higher education you find that there are fewer girls than boys so you may tend to assume that they are given fewer opportunities.

Another boy from school 4 thinks that:

sometimes it depends on the community whereby some girls don't want to go to school and so all the attention is paid to the boys. Any girl who says that she does not want to go to school is left out without being persuaded to go, while any boy who says that he does not want to go to school is persuaded to go.

While at the primary school level, one boy from school (f) thinks that girls have fewer chances because they 'meet their boy friends and spoil their chances'. This implies that girls' relationships with boys determine their stay in school.

Programmes to provide opportunities in retention emphasise girls, which suggests that low retention is largely girls' problem. However the variations in the key players' perceptions of the policies designed to increase the retention of girls suggest paradoxical and contradictory outcomes. For example:

- (a) the curriculum which is designed to increase opportunities the retention of girls and boys at the secondary level may result in inequalities in their retention in traditional male and female subject domains;
- (b) while there is government concern on girls' low enrolment and retention, girls' and society's attitudes determine their education;

(c) the emphasis placed on girls in the provision of financial incentives to increase their retention results in neglecting boys' financial needs and therefore ignores their continued low retention;

(d) while there may be international and national concern on the low retention of girls in schools as a result of government or school policies and programmes, the girls themselves and to a certain extent the communities they come from also determine their levels of retention.

Sub-theme 1(c): Equal opportunities in addressing discrimination practices between boys and girls.

Equal opportunities policies aim to change the discriminatory practices of key players in the implementation process, mainly at the household and school levels. This discrimination is in examinations and sending girls and boys to school, and the policies implemented to address it may result in further discrimination. The UNEB male noted that in the board they are aware of gender inequalities in academic performance because of the campaigns from women's groups and the present policy on affirmative action instituted by the government to reduce inequalities in education. But UNEB pursues a non-discrimination examination policy. This conforms to the objective of testing for academic achievement and knowledge and skills acquisition for both boys and girls. The female noted that:

when we set exams we are not looking so much at gender, but we are looking at the syllabuses and these are set for all. We are looking more or less to see if the question we are setting is relevant to the objectives of the syllabus. UNEB tests are achievement tests.

Not considering gender when setting exams means that the problem of poor academic performance among girls will persist. Affirmative action calls for some kind of policy to favour girls especially as their academic performance is lower compared to that of boys. The male noted that:

when it comes to health questions there could be a question that is best answered by girls for example on breast feeding. Because of the affirmative action policy, which has come into force, we put it in while knowing that it would be a disadvantage to boys.

This stand contradicts the board's objective of testing for the academic achievement of both girls and boys, although it is in line with the affirmative action policy and may create areas of conflict, if the objective is to address discrimination practices between boys and girls. Paradoxically, the one effective means of addressing

inequalities in academic performance between boys and girls (affirmative action) is seen as discriminatory and, as a policy, is unacceptable in UNEB.

In Mpigi district, discrimination practices between boys and girls are perceived by the District Education Officers (DEOs) in terms of parents' attitudes, which discourage girls from attending school; and the economic situation which determines boys' greater likelihood of going to school. The male DEO considers that boys are less encouraged by their parents to go to school than girls. He observed that:

there are more girls than boys in primary schools, it is not that boys have less access to schools than girls, but they are less encouraged to go than girls. A lot of economic generating activities such as brick laying and fishing are more suited to boys than girls and so they are not encouraged to go to school but to involve themselves in these jobs and supplement family incomes.

The female on the other hand believes that parents discriminate against girls by favouring boys. She noted that:

whenever there is any financial constraint it is always the girl to suffer because parents would rather educate a boy than a girl. Sometimes we realise that it is the mothers particularly who carry out discrimination practices between boys and girls. When it comes to doing household work, they would rather use girls than boys, which gives boys a better chance with their education.

Both the male and female DEOs in Mpigi district describe discrimination practices within the household and the school system. The equal opportunities policies provided to remove them are seen as discriminating against boys. The male DEO noted that:

USAID established the Incentive Grants Scheme, project which aims at keeping girls in school, so girls have better opportunities in education than boys because the project is geared for them. We are just sensitising parents to keep boys in school instead of using them as people who bring in some kind of income to the family.

The female DEO acknowledged that their office was aware of the problems facing boys, but the policy is to show more concern for girls. In discussions, in their school and community visits, boys' issues are sometimes included. The danger lies in letting boys' problems become secondary to girls' problems. Addressing discrimination practices would entail policies that deal with discrimination against both boys and girls instead of between boys and girls. While both boys and girls may face some form of discrimination, action to address discrimination practices, whether at the household or school levels, refers to girls thereby leaving boys in a disadvantaged position.

Sub-theme 1(d): Equal opportunities in competition between boys and girls.

There are different forms of competition between boys and girls in, for instance, academia, the world of work, and in the political and economic fields, which are perceived differently by the key players at the wider society and school levels. At the school level these perceptions included:

- competition between boys and girls in accessibility and enrolment into coeducation schools;
- competition between boys and girls in academic performance in coeducation and single sex schools and between boys and girls in general;
- competition between boys and girls in enrolment in higher education, relative to the affirmative action policy, which, although it is beyond the scope of this study, has a negative effect on boys in general and girls in high performing single sex schools.

At the MoE level, competition between boys and girls is access, enrolment and academic performance led. There is initial competition in enrolment to secondary schools between girls, to enter the few girls' schools available. The unsuccessful ones go to coeducation schools. The MoE's policy of affirmative action requires that for a coeducation school to be recognised, at least 1/3 of the students' population must be girls, and can be admitted at a lower pass mark than the boys. The female CE observed that this policy has implications for girls' access and enrolment to coeducation schools. She stated that:

the entry point is based on academic performance with a worked out score, but when girls were competing to get this score, there were more boys in the field than them. For a particular score there are about three boys to one girl and therefore during admission there are fewer girls than boys for the same score. Girls' scoring point will be lower than that of boys because most of the time the competing girls on the same score first fill up the all girls schools and the remainder apply to go to mixed schools.

Instituting quotas on girls during school admissions and other affirmative action policies results in a paradox in which, while the government provides opportunities to increase access and enrolment for boys and girls in secondary schools, its system of admission at the same time creates inequalities in competition for enrolment in the same schools.

In the competition in academic performance between boys and girls in national exams, generally girls' performance is lower compared to that of boys. The UNEB male noted that:

at the primary school level, when you look at the performance of girls compared to boys, you find that girls do equally well in a few cases. But there are some who don't do well at all because they are not given enough time to study. When you go to secondary schools, the gaps start to emerge so that, girls are better at arts subjects than science subjects.

The female UNEB agrees but stresses that those girls who perform well come from single sex boarding schools, which normally take the cream of the country. Girls from those schools are able to compete with boys and are usually at the top, leading boys' schools. But these schools, as the CE female noted:

are expensive to run and cater for a few girls, making it counter productive. If the policy is to go for many, then the schools would have to be open and day, which again put girls at a disadvantage in and outside the schools.

It is paradoxical therefore that the government favours the coeducation school system, which is open to everybody, to provide access and enrolment. At the same time it is denying girls opportunities in access to academic competition with boys through single sex boarding schools where girls' academic performance is high.

At the classroom level, the key players in coeducation schools reported differences in academic performance between boys and girls. According to the boys in school 3 (a high performing boarding school) girls do not take advantage of the opportunities presented to them, resulting in inequalities in competition in academic performance between them. One boy noted that:

in class I think that equal opportunities are availed to both boys and girls, except that the girls are very passive. Questions are asked and every body in class is given the chance to answer, may be the girls feel that they are not up to the boys, they cannot match up with them. They don't ask or answer any questions and teachers have to literary force them to answer, it is the boys who participate but the same opportunities are given.

Girls however blame boys' attitudes towards them for their lack of competition in academic performance. One girl noted that:

the school may look at it like they are giving us the same opportunities, but when you move down, the boys undermine girls. They have a feeling that girls can only do specific subjects, they feel that some things are just made for them alone, so that when a girl tries it she is booed down and all sorts of things are done to discourage her.

The boys accepted that they denigrate girls, but they did not see the problem as peculiar to them. In their view it is a global phenomenon and girls should be able to stand up to them especially as some of them are good public speakers. One boy noted that:

we have got a problem, but it is just natural, in all situations and in all countries these things are going on. But with the fight for equal rights, girls should be able to stand up to boys instead of feeling oppressed.

Another boy noted that:

in this school some girls are really up to it, they can boo the boys down, other girls are such good public speakers they can debate with the boys and shut them down. It all depends on the girl's self esteem if she can stand up and express her views.

Inequalities in academic performance between girls and boys in part emanate from the government policy of providing coeducation schools to increase the enrolment of girls in schools. The paradox is that the enrolment procedures implemented to increase girls' enrolment into such schools and the attitudes of boys towards girls place them in a situation where they find it difficult to compete with boys.

Sub-theme 1(e): Equal opportunities in leadership.

Spreading opportunities in leadership between men and women and boys and girls is one of the strategies implemented to improve the status of women. At the school level, the policy is to encourage as many women as possible to become managers so that they can be role models for girls, as well as being sensitive to the girls' needs particularly in coeducation schools. Current affirmative action policy and traditional outlooks on leadership influence the appointment of women into school administrative positions. The male CE noted that:

jobs for heads of institutions are open, the only classification is that some schools are purely girls' schools and because of our traditions, we would not encourage men to apply to become heads. Similarly, ladies would not be encouraged to become heads in boys' schools. But where a school is mixed, it is the policy that if the head is a lady, then the deputy has to be a man and vice versa, just to balance the school.

Both women and men face obstacles in achieving leadership in anything other than same gender schools. There are few girls' schools, which means that there will be few women leaders and therefore fewer role models for the girls. The female CE noted that:

the opportunities for women managers in education are limited, because of their fewer numbers at the higher level, the number of female teachers who feel that they need to become head teachers and heads of departments gets fewer. So that when jobs become open for application, there are fewer women applying.

It is paradoxical that while jobs are open and the government wants to recruit more women managers as role models for girls, they are at the same time denied access to leadership positions by being discouraged from applying as managers of single sex boys' schools.

At the district level, leadership is open to everybody, but affirmative action takes precedence. For instance the Masaka male DEO noted that:

when it comes to recruitment especially where we have a lee way of choosing between

a man and a woman, we are constantly reminded that we should have gender as a factor. There are minimum standards set that a man or woman applying for a post must satisfy. But you may find that there is unfair competition as for sometime men have been more exposed to those experiences than the ladies. So where the two come in we may take into consideration that even if the lady was performing slightly lower than the male we give more consideration to the lady.

This situation, according to the male DEO, is a result of the women managers, brought into the system through affirmative action policies, who have proved their leadership abilities to the approval of the parents and the community and can be said to fulfil their role model positions for the girls. But paradoxically affirmative action to increase the chances of women managers has not been implemented at the secondary school level.

At the school prefect level, equal opportunities in school leadership appear to be determined by the size of girls' population and the school's policy on leadership, not affirmative action. In school 6, a rural coeducation day and boarding secondary school, the male head teacher noted that:

in this school, boys and girls have the same opportunities, they compete well in class, games and school leadership and girls now go for top leadership positions than the boys. Girls are the majority in the school and therefore they take the majority of the leadership positions.

In school 3 the situation has changed so that, unlike in the past, girls are also given the opportunity to participate in school leadership. But because they are fewer in number compared to the boys and are not as forthcoming as boys in becoming leaders, they form a small proportion of school prefects. The boys, however, blame girls' attitudes towards themselves for limiting their participation in school leadership. One boy noted that:

in class we encourage the girls to participate, we have debating clubs and schools councils again, in which we as boys encourage the girls to participate. The school administration asks for representatives from each class, a boy and a girl so as to foster girls' participation though, sometimes they don't want to participate.

The situation in these two schools suggests that equal opportunities in school leadership may relate to numbers. In school 6 where girls are the majority, they dominate leadership positions. In school 3 where girls are 1/3 of the school population, the boys dominate leadership positions. And at the secondary school level head teachers are mostly men because of the fewer number of female teachers.

Theme 2: Perceptions of gender inequality as a continuing problem.

The respondents differed in their perceptions of equal opportunities in education as a continuing problem. At the MoE level, some male respondents did not envisage a problem, while the CE female, NCDC male and female and UNEB pair did identify a continuing problem among boys and girls in:

- (a) accessibility and enrolment;
- (b) retention and ;
- (c) academic performance.

The perception of gender inequality as a continuing problem or not is relative to key players' perceptions of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls. Some see them as simply establishing more coeducation schools and designing curriculum programmes to increase access, enrolment and retention. Others view them as a complex issue, which requires more gender specific policies to enable pregnant girls to remain in school or establishing more single sex schools for girls.

At the district level, all the six male and female officers considered that gender inequality in education is a continuous problem, which is manifested in:

- (a) enrolment ;
- (b) retention; and
- (c) discrimination practices between boys and girls.

At the secondary school level, all the head teachers identified it as a problem, but there were variations among the female and male teachers. Some of the male and female teachers acknowledged its existence others did not, while both boys and girls agreed that there is a problem. They largely perceived it in terms of:

- (a) parents' attitude towards girls;
- (b) boys' and teachers' attitudes towards girls;
- (c) enrolment of girls;
- (d) retention of girls;
- (e) favouring girls over boys;
- (f) academic performance;
- (g) over protection of girls.

The head teachers' and teachers' perceptions of a continuing problem are relative to their own and other schools in the ongoing competition in academic performance between single sex and coeducation schools. The girls saw the problem as their

problem at the hands of their individual schools' policies, boys, and teachers' attitudes towards them at the classroom level and leadership inequalities in the wider society. Boys perceived the problem essentially as boys' problem especially relative to the affirmative action policies which have been instituted to favour girls.

The pattern at primary school level was similar to the one at the secondary school level, where some respondents considered that there is a problem, while others did not. The problem of inequality or lack of it is perceived in terms of:

- (a) enrolment;
- (b) discrimination in treatment between boys and girls at home and school;
- (c) parents' negative attitude towards girls and education.

The continuous problem of gender inequality in education or lack of it, as perceived by the key players, indicates the failure or success of policies implemented to provide educational opportunities for all. These policies are explained from an administrative perspective at the MoE, district and school levels, and from the lived experiences in the interaction between the key implementers and those whom policies target in and outside the classroom. It is therefore possible to identify several dimensions of the problem of inequalities as outlined below.

Sub-theme 2 (a): Problem of enrolment.

At the MoE and district levels the continuing problem of enrolment is perceived from school population ratios between boys and girls. A problem is identified if the ratio of girls entering the school system compared to boys or vice versa is low; or if schools register under enrolment for boys and girls. Government policy is to increase access and enrolment by establishing more mixed day schools, which are open to everybody. As far as the CE male is concerned, enrolment is no longer a problem:

I don't see any problem, unless people don't want to take their children to school. Once they have accepted to take their children to school, I don't see why providing these opportunities should disadvantage anybody.

However from the perspective of his female colleague, there is a continuing problem which results from the government's policy on coeducation schools and affirmative action. The CE female described how in one school:

for every one girl there are about five boys and therefore during admission there are fewer girls than boys on the same score. The 1/3 of girls to the already assumed 1:5 of girls to boys means that the school will remain at 1/3; as for five girls to be admitted there will already be fifteen boys.

It is paradoxical that the continuing problem in enrolment is manifested in the education policies which, though implemented to increase access and enrolment for both boys and girls, set up quotas on girls which limit their enrolment.

At the district level there is a problem in the enrolment of boys and girls. The DEO male of Mpigi attributed the problem to the over stressing of girls in the current campaigns to persuade parents to take children to school which has resulted in favouritism of girls over boys. At the same time there are many income-generating activities in his district, which attract boys and their parents who encourage sons to go to work instead of school. He noted that:

unless we sensitise the society, there is no way we can pull the boys from the society to go to school. To me now the problem is not girls, the problem is boys and opportunities in education. We have to pay more attention to boys' attraction to school.

There were similar echoes in Masaka district, which suggests that there is a continuing problem in the enrolment of boys. Although such a problem may be known the policy of the government is to focus on the girl child. The NCDC male noted that:

the most important issue is to focus attention on the girl child. In the MoE all children matter, but the girl child is now top on the agenda. It is not a lack of concern for the boy child but we have seen that among those we care about, we should put in extra concern for the girl child.

The NCDC and district levels consider the situation of boys to be a problem. There is no concern for them as in the case of girls, which means that retention will be a continuing problem, shifting from girls to boys.

Sub-theme 2 (b): Problem of retention.

Retention of boys and girls in schools becomes a problem when the population of either boys or girls is lower compared to their enrolment rates. Low retention is of concern to the key players at the MoE level. For instance the male NCDC said that:

we undertook a study in the department which was targeting school drop outs, but it was focusing on the girl child. We found out that boys also drop out of school, but compared to the girls there are more girls dropping out of the system than boys.

The focus on girls according to DEO Masaka male has been largely attributed to the general opinion that girls more than boys drop out of school, especially between primary 5-7. This has resulted in putting them on the policy agenda. But there is evidence now to suggest that there is a problem with the retention of boys. The male said that:

in one of my visits to a primary school, 3/4 of the pupils were girls in upper classes. In most cases when parents have money they take all children to school, but when it comes to choosing who should stay in school in case of financial constraints it is the girl who is in luck. The boys leave to join the transport business and petty trading, it is of concern to see boys leaving school early.

It is evident that both girls and boys may have problems in remaining in the school system, and continuing to put girls on the agenda and ignore boys' problems may result in a vicious circle of inequalities in retention. Data about boys' non-attendance at school remains inconclusive. According to the Masaka DEO male, the tendency is to know how many children do not attend school which results in underestimating the problem of boys. The female officer from the same district presents another dimension to the retention of both boys and girls. She said that:

the drop out rate for boys is also equally high especially with so many other alternative opportunities for earning a living. Masaka has a large number of trading centres and the tendency for boys to go and look for jobs especially in the transport business is quite high. So in this district the drop out rate for girls is high but it is not any lower for boys.

At the school level, the problem of retention is confined to particular schools. Secondary schools like 1, 2 and 3 and primary schools like (a), (b) and (c) for instance register very high retention of pupils. As far as they are concerned there is no problem. Schools like 4, 5 and 6 and (d), (e) and (f) register lower retention and therefore from their individual school's experience, there is a problem. The head teacher of school 6 stated that:

the drop out rate is equally the same, there was a time when girls used to drop out mainly because of untimely pregnancies, but now we don't have many girls dropping out because of that as they are learning to take care of themselves, but boys are now dropping out because of unnecessary reasons. Even when their parents pay school fees, disciplinary reasons and being involved with other things than their studies is forcing them out of school.

This is an individual school problem, although there may be other schools with a similar problem. The continuing gender inequality in retention lies in the way the problem is looked at, as a girls' or boys' problem or as a general problem among girls and boys.

Sub-theme 2(c): The problem of discrimination between boys and girls.

Discrimination becomes a problem when different decisions are made about boys and girls at the house hold, wider system of education, school, and classroom levels. At the wider system of education level, discrimination is perceived from the affirmative action policies instituted to favour the disadvantaged group (girls) to

achieve parity with advantaged group (boys) in enrolment to higher education and in coeducation secondary schools. The group not favoured by the policy will see it as something unacceptable. Paradoxically, some sections of the group favoured by affirmative action will also look at it as something unacceptable in the way it portrays them as non-performers. The female CE observed that:

implementing affirmative action to favour girls would result in the feeling of a complex as men and boys would always feel that girls have been compensated for the sake of compensation but are incompetent.

This observation confirms the discontent felt by one boy from school (2) who voiced the concern of many boys interviewed in his and other schools. He said that:

girls have more chances than us boys. In joining the university for example they are given additional points but not boys. So you find that while a boy scores the same points as the girl at A level, the boy might not be admitted to the university while for her she will secure a place.

One girl in school 1 echoed her discontent with the affirmative action policy shared with girls, including those who were admitted to higher education without it. She said that:

they think that we can't 'beat' the boys and that if more girls have to go they have to be given extra points. So to show that girls are as good as the boys or even better, the extra 1.5 points should be abolished.

Older males also showed their discontent with affirmative action, which they felt, emphasised differences in academic performance levels. In the head's opinion in school 4 it creates distinctions between boys and girls which should not be made. They should be encouraged to grow up knowing their academic abilities and not to expect anything special from society. He stated that:

girls shouldn't feel weak or incompetent, they can equally compete with the boys and they should grow up with that feeling. In my opinion I think it is better to grow up with that feeling than some of these affirmative action policies which makes them feel weaker.

It could be that in school 4 affirmative action is not something that is taken to kindly by the advantaged group, in the sense that it is seen as a form of discrimination against boys. Policies which aim at advantaging the disadvantaged run the implicit danger of disadvantaging the advantaged.

In coeducation schools, discrimination between groups is seen as favouritism and over protection of girls. From the girls' and boys' perspective, favouritism involves giving preferential treatment to either group by their teachers. One boy in school 4 noted that:

in this school you may find that both a boy and a girl have not paid school fees, but the

girl will talk to the teacher and she will be allowed to study until she is able to pay. Where as for the boy he will be sent away from school and told to come back after he has paid.

While boys may regard such an incident as discriminating and therefore unacceptable, the teachers and the school policy as a whole may look at it as an affirmative action policy to keep girls in school. In school 6 discrimination is perceived by girls to be manifested in their housework schedules, whereby their chores confine them to the women's traditional kitchen roles, while boys' chores confine them to the traditional male hard outdoor work. The girls would like both boys and girls them to do similar work at the same time, but their female teachers are of the view that balancing out housework between boys and girls is helpful. If the girls were involved in preparing food the boys would be involved with some other work like keeping the school tidy. Apparently the girls do not look at it in the same light. Their female teachers noted that:

girls say that if we are given equal opportunities why don't the boys come along and we prepare food together? The boys cannot accept to do such work and even we teachers don't see why boys should go and prepare food with the girls. Instead they should be given some other work like slashing the compound.

This instance is a paradox in the sense that, while the teachers' intention is to balance out work, they can be accused of sex stereotyping in household chores. Girls continue to be involved in the traditional female role of preparing food and boys in the more traditional male role of doing tougher work like mowing the grass in the school compound.

Sub-theme 2 (d): The problem of over protection of girls.

Over protection of girls so as to retain them in the system of education may paradoxically result in discrimination against them. Most parents would prefer to send their daughters to single sex schools where they can be protected. When there are no places available, they place them in coeducation schools. There are several measures put in place by individual coeducation schools to protect the girls in form of school rules. These are subject to different interpretations by the implementers, those to be protected and those they are protected from. School 3 a coeducation boarding school provides a typical example of this paradox. The male teachers accuse female teachers of over protecting the girls by giving them special treatment. One male noted that:

when you look at the school rules, they are all given general rules but when you go to the girls' end the lady teachers have their do's and don'ts in terms of attire, when to go

where and where not to go. Much as you may protect a person, when you make that person to be outstanding you arouse a person whose intentions may have not initially been good into victimising that person being protected.

The boys from whom the girls are protected on the other hand think that those kinds of school rules are designed not only to control girls but also to control boys. One boy noted that:

the situation in this school in regard to the school rules is that they are being enforced by the female teachers and not us boys. Girls are not allowed to put on shorts, trousers or perm their hair. It is felt that it is much easier for girls to excite boys by the way they behave and dress than the boys to excite girls. So those kinds of rules are enforced so that the school can control us through the girls.

The female teachers who are accused of enforcing the school rules think that they are carrying out their responsibilities with the girls while their male counterparts are more lax with the boys. According to them, whenever a girl is seen with an unconventional hairstyle, the male teachers will be quick to ask them whether the girls have been allowed to change their conventional hairstyles. The same male teachers would be quick to complain that female teachers are rigid in their enforcement of the school rules particularly with the girls. One female teacher stated that:

as developers and implementers of school rules, we thought that we would be helping the girls and protecting them. They feel that they are oppressed but we felt that we were trying to protect them as they are fewer in numbers and would therefore be at the mercy of the boys if they did not dress decently. They feel that we are too much on them while we are more relaxed with the boys.

Paradoxically while the female teachers are fulfilling their duty of protecting girls as is expected of them by the parents, keeping both boys and girls in their own ends which are far removed from one other is unacceptable to both. Both girls and boys feel that such a situation impedes academic and social interaction, which would benefit them both. This is more evident especially during night prep time where the girls said that:

apart from class we are not allowed to read with them during night prep, boys read alone and so do girls. You find that us girls may need the help of A level boys with a maths problem, who may explain it better than the teacher. The boys who are nearer to the A level boys get help while us girls who stay further down don't get their help and in this case boys have got an unfair advantage over us.

The boys too expressed similar discontent as the girls. One boy noted that:

we have night prep periods after supper and the regulations are that O level boys and girls read separately. The argument is that we see enough of them in the daytime so we don't have to see them again at night. Yet even in the daytime we don't see enough of them as they sit separately in class so there is not enough interaction during the day time. Whatever interaction there is does not extend to studies because we do not mix

during preps, classes do not mix, so it is the teachers who come and help.

Thus, while coeducation schools are preferred by the government as a way of opening up opportunities to more people, the paradox is that sometimes the over protection of the disadvantaged could lead to more disadvantages if there is no academic interaction between boys and girls. Because they lack competition, which would have come out of their close interaction, their academic abilities are not maximally exploited.

Sub-theme 2 (e) Inequalities in academic performance.

Exams at both the national and school levels are used to promote pupils from one class to another and to transfer them from primary to technical and secondary schooling, and from secondary to other higher education institutions. Differences have been noted in performance between boys and girls, rural and urban schools and girls in single sex boarding and coeducation schools. Testing for academic performance to transfer pupils from primary to secondary schooling is the duty of UNEB and the male gave his overall national view on academic performance. He noted that:

there is a difference in examination performance between boys and girls and it becomes more pronounced in rural schools compared to urban schools. When you go to secondary schools, girls who are in boarding schools and are given the opportunity to study perform well and in most cases better than boys. But when you consider the performance of girls going to day schools the difference in performance between boys and girls persists.

Although government policy favours coeducation over single sex schools, single sex girls boarding schools, which are not favoured by the government, register high academic performance.

At the school level, in schools like 1, and 2 (single sex) and 3 (coeducation) there is stiff competition between boys and girls in academic performance at the national and local school levels. The view from all schools, which participated in the study, is that girls are able to out compete boys. The head teacher of school 2 noted that:

in the past it was boys who had the capability to do maths but not now. This school was 'beaten' by a single sex girls' school in the overall national exams. We came fourth with some girls getting much better grades than boys did.

The female deputy head teacher of school 1 which is one of those schools which 'beats' boys' schools confirmed this view from the experience of her own school, she said that:

our girls are capable of doing very well 'beating' boys as has been shown in the

examinations results. I don't think that boys are any better than girls are.

These views indicate a shift in academic performance whereby, although the majority of girls do not perform well, those who do perform better than boys. At the students' level, boys/girls competition exists, with girls from school 1 seemingly declaring an academic war on boys on behalf of all the girls, especially the low performers. One girl said that:

we find that in school 3, boys are always telling us that they are 'beating' us, we don't find it like they are 'beating' us and therefore we should give up. No we stand up and say that these people are not 'beating' us, if they are reading to 'beat' us then we read to 'beat' them and what comes out is that this school 'beats' school 3.

The boys in school 3 however compare their academic performance with girls in their own school, generalising that they 'beat' all the girls, unaware of the academic campaign against them by girls in school 1. One of the boys stated that:

in all classes the best performers are boys. In some classes the best girl comes after the first ten performers or even more and you rarely find those girls academically interacting with those best performers.

The problem of poor academic performance among girls therefore seems to be more prevalent in the government favoured coeducation schools, where the majority of girls do not perform well. Girls in single sex boarding schools have shown that not only can they 'beat' boys in schools of their kind, but boys in coeducation schools too.

Theme 3: Perceptions of Causes of Inequalities.

The way boys and girls are treated in the home, taught in schools and encounter the wider society, provides a framework for the analysis and understanding of gender inequalities in education. Causes of these inequalities are subject to the individual interpretations of the key players in the policy implementation process and were largely perceived in terms of:

- (a) social causes;
- (b) economic causes;
- (c) cultural causes;
- (d) attitudinal causes;
- (e) physiological and biological causes.

Some of the respondents at the MoE attributed the inequalities to the history of the country's education system and school cultures. Others respondents attributed the causes to parents' choice to educate boys than girls, physiological and biological

development processes among girls, boys' attraction to small income generating businesses and trades, and parents' financial constraints. The causes in turn are seen to lead to differences between boys and girls in enrolment, retention and treatment of girls by parents, teachers and boys.

Sub-theme 3(a): Social causes.

Responsibilities people take in the education of the child vary at the household, school and wider society levels, influencing the ability of the girl child to take full advantage of the educational opportunities presented to her. At the household level for instance, inhibiting girls' education is manifested in parents' concern for their daughters' safety against early pregnancies. The CE female noted that:

those members of the community who are not directly connected to the children will have an indirect impact on the child's going to school. Some men are irresponsible and want to use the girls for their sexual needs thereby diverting them from their education.

In her view, such incidents would not be so rampant if the girls were not as exposed as they are, attending mixed day schools which are favoured and grant aided by the government. Once the girl is outside the school gates she is no longer under the protection of the school, and until she arrives home she is not under her parents' protection, but at the mercy of the society. However this should not be taken to mean that girls in boarding schools receive maximum protection. In school (f), a coeducation boarding primary school, the boys expressed their concern over girls spoiling their chances in education. This is due to inadequate protection for girls against boys and men. One boy noted that:

there are problem if boys and girls study in the same school as girls get impregnated by boys. Boys and girls do not concentrate on their studies, because they are all the time writing love letters and thinking about their lovers and this affects their academic performance. Boys and men cross to the girls' dormitories because the matron fears to stop them.

There are definite questions on the ability of the school system to protect girls and therefore maintain them within the system of education. It is paradoxical therefore that the coeducation system favoured by the government because of its ability to provide access and enrolment to more girls, at the same time maintains low retention rates because it cannot protect them.

Sub-theme 3 (b): Cultural causes.

Respondents were of the view that girls are destined for marriage and that on marriage, the girl will be joining another family and will therefore not be of benefit to her family. The boy on the other hand will remain in the family and look after it. Generally in the Ugandan societies educational investment is in boys. The NCDC male noted that:

some cultural practices have made the girl child a less advantaged person. In some societies girls are looked at as potential housewives and mothers and therefore are not much encouraged to continue with schooling after they reach the age of puberty. While in other societies before the girl reaches womanhood, she can only be protected if she is married to some one and is the mother of his children.

This does not however mean that society is not aware of the importance of educating girls, but it is also aware of the repercussions of girls getting pregnant before marriage. The DEO Masaka female noted that there is a growing number of educated women role models so that:

most communities do not envisage any problems in providing equal opportunities in education to both boys and girls. My feeling is that our society is now well sensitised to the need for girls to have opportunities in education. If only schools play their role keenly of monitoring girls especially at that vulnerable age when they start growing into adults.

The problem would be contained if there were interaction between schools and communities, so that the surrounding communities become more involved in the education of the girl. In the absence of this, these communities do not appreciate the role the education system is playing in getting rid of negative social and cultural attitudes, which result in low enrolment and retention for girls. The DEO Masaka male noted that:

if only the school can interact with the community, and discuss issues which can be against affirmative action, go out to sensitise them, and invite the community to show them how things are operated. It is more of persuasion and teaching than any other factor, whatever the culture is but has the opportunity to see how the school can operate without having a major disregard for cultural biases then things can change.

He implies that communities remain socially and culturally resistant to government efforts and policies to increase the enrolment and retention of girls within the system of education because they are not involved. Schools 3 and 6 have programmes whereby children go out to interact with members of the community but, when it comes to inviting members to visit schools, only role model men and women (usually former students) and parents who have children in those schools are invited. It is paradoxical that while the education system wants culture to release girls into its

system, at the same time it is excluding members of the community who still conform to deep rooted negative cultural attitudes to the education of girls, from participating in the education of their children. These people make decisions on whether to send girls to school or not. Those not directly concerned with the education of the child have relationships with them which result in early retirement from school. If they are left out without being sensitised and involved in the education process they will not be able to value the importance of education.

Sub-theme 3(c) Economic causes.

Respondents noted the importance parents attach to formal schooling as a lever of social and economic advancement within their societies, whereby school fees are regarded as a first call on family incomes. Discrimination between boys and girls occurs if they cannot meet the demand, they have little money and as a result they have to make choices. It was revealed that, usually in low-income families, the disadvantages of not sending boys to school are weighed against those of a girl and usually those of a boy outweigh the girl's. The UNEB female noted that:

the majority of families especially in the rural areas are very poor, so there is always little to put on education. Coupled with cultural beliefs, the little that they have is put on the boys first because they remain in the family and may become the family head at one point in time. Where as for a girl, she will get married and join another family and so will be looked at as an investment for another family.

While such cases may be looked upon as putting girls at a disadvantage from the perspective of onlookers, it would be to the disadvantage of their families not to educate their sons.

Weighing the advantages and disadvantages of educating boys and girls is seen in terms of what will happen to either of them if they are not educated. Usually this is associated with the evils of society. One girl in school (e) summarised what is felt in their age group, that by educating boys alone:

the country will not develop, only boys will be educated. Girls will not get good jobs and will be poor and backward.

While by educating girls alone:

boys will be street children, they will not get good jobs, they will impregnate girls, they can steal, will be drunkards and poor.

And by educating boys and girls:

they will both be disciplined and educated. They will develop the country, have good jobs and develop their families.

From the girls' perceptions the disadvantages of not educating boys outweigh those of not educating girls so that their parents choose to educate boys especially in cases where there is not enough to go round.

Economically, boys are lured out of schools by petty trades, which in their view are more profitable than going to school, and, in the view of their parents, are a better way of supplementing the family income. The DEO Masaka male noted that:

if you particularly want to talk about boys and where they go, they have small businesses, petty occupations such as fishing, transportation and small trades like carpentry so probably that keeps them away from schools.

Such economic activities lower the retention rates for boys in schools and, because they get absorbed in these activities, it becomes difficult to monitor their school attendance. But the situation in the district is that of a general lack of funding to facilitate the kind of monitoring required. The DEO Masaka female stated that:

the problem we have is of collecting data, there is a general lack of funding. As for monitoring the drop out rates, head teachers are supposed to give monthly, quarterly and annual reports but this is an area, which has not quite picked up. I cannot say that we know the number of children who are supposed to be in schools but are actually not.

It is paradoxical therefore that while the education system wants to enrol as many children as possible into it, it does not have the necessary machinery to monitor their attendance or fully examine other economic implications which may lead to their early retirement from school.

Sub-theme 3(d): Physiological and biological causes.

Biological developmental processes have for a long time been regarded as interfering with girls' educational processes. Many of the female respondents acknowledged that when girls reach puberty they face a number of developmental problems, which may end in early pregnancies. The majority of the girls attend coeducation day schools, living with their parents or other relatives and according to the interviewees at all the three levels, spending more time at school than at home. This suggests that parents play a very limited part in monitoring girls' physical and biological development.

The Female DEO Masaka noted that:

parents had traditionally given this duty to the aunts, and it happens that these days aunts are far away from these children as they grow. You find very few parents who ever talk to their children even if they are studying in a day school.

This suggests a 'mismatch' between parents' and schools' roles in monitoring girls' physiological and biological development processes, and the girl child's movements once she is outside her parents' home and the school premises.

There was a tendency among some respondents to generalise that boys are not a vulnerable group although they too experience development processes, but these are ignored in most school programmes. One of the female teachers in school 3 noted that:

may be boys are affected but they have never spoken about themselves. While for the girls we know because they tell us, e.g. if a girl were in her periods, sitting next to a boy would make her feel very self-conscious in getting up and if she has a stomach-ache, the boys will connect it to that. So I am of the view that boys' problems don't interfere with their every day life unlike girls' problems.

There was also a tendency among the interviewees, particularly at the district level and in some schools, to generalise that girls get attracted to older men rather than their age mates. But the main problem in school 4 is early pregnancies caused by their male age mates. One of the programmes to combat teenage pregnancies in the school is sex education, which is a relatively new programme, with more emphasis on girls than boys. The head teacher noted that:

there is a lack of sex education and family planning knowledge and because they lack that knowledge, when they get pregnant they fall out. We have encouraged talks on sex education from the senior mistress, they are not only meant for the girls, but boys as well because it is the boys who make the younger girls to fall into problems.

It is paradoxical that while there are still incidences of teenage pregnancies, the majority of which are caused by boys, there is a mismatch in the way information is disseminated to both boys and girls and girls' developmental processes are monitored.

Sub-theme 3(e): Attitudinal causes.

Respondents cited several attitudinal causes in terms of society's cultural attitudes to the education of girls, girls' attitudes towards themselves and education, teachers' attitudes towards pupils which may result in favouring one group against the other, and boys' attitudes towards girls in the classrooms. However, one aspect of societal attitude revealed in this study is the traditional negative attitudes towards women and education. The UNEB male cited a study that had been conducted in their department on factors that inhibit girls' education which revealed that:

people's attitude on gender issues is negative towards women and will therefore not give them equal opportunities. People look upon the schoolgirls more or less as people

who are not supposed to go far and are there only to prepare themselves for marriage. Even if the girl has been given the opportunity to study, the attitude of the community will discourage her from going further with her education.

This negative attitude reflects the general mood in some sections of male society especially following the current gender sensitisation drive in the country, which puts particular emphasis on girls and women. It seems that men feel there is too much being said about girls, while many women feel that there is not enough, but if they carried on with the struggle, they might face resentment. The CE female noted that:

when the women cry out, it is going to sound women, women, what do you want? It seems men look at the women folk as people who are trying to ask for too much, so there is need for sensitising both men and women. Much as it is the girls who are disadvantaged with inequalities in education, it takes both men and women to appreciate the problem.

The DEO Masaka male feels that too much is being said about girls and women, and that sooner or later society will have to talk about boys and men and equal opportunities. He noted that:

one of the obstacles already existing in many cases is the over stressing of girls over boys. Even where there are ladies, somebody may say that you are not gender sensitive and when there are no ladies people will again ask where are the women? Once you overdo it then you create another side of it, a side effect that somebody tends to develop a barrier, it creates a negative attitude, undermining whatever could have been achieved.

This statement sums up what many of the interviewees at the district and school levels felt about the way gender issues have been handled, especially by the women themselves, without considering the possible outcomes of their crusade. In their view, society is not against providing equal opportunities in education to both boys and girls; it is against how the struggle for equal opportunities has been monopolised by women to the exclusion of men. It is paradoxical that while there is a drive for equal opportunities in education led by the women, by excluding men the same drive is undermining the little that may have been achieved.

Theme 4: Strategies to provide equal opportunities in education.

Several strategies to provide equal opportunities in education to boys and girls were stated at different levels, reflecting a 'what has been done' and a 'what should be done' perspective. The strategies reflect government policy on education relative to the different departments. These strategies are perceived in terms of increasing:

- (a) accessibility;
- (b) enrolment;
- (c) retention; and

(d) testing for academic achievement.

At the district level, the DEO respondents stated strategies which subscribed to the 'has been done' and 'should be done' perspective, and are implemented in the context of:

- (a) increasing the enrolment and retention of girls;
- (b) improving the academic performance of girls.

At the secondary school level, respondents stated strategies, which indicated 'has been done' and 'should be done' perspectives, depending on individual school problems and policies to solve them. These strategies aim at increasing:

- (a) the enrolment of girls in schools;
- (b) the retention of girls;
- (c) girls' participation in school leadership;
- (e) academic interaction between boys and girls.

The strategies as stated by the head teachers, male and female teachers and male and female pupils reflect individual schools' perceptions of equal opportunities relative to the perceived inequalities between boys and girls and how they have tried to address problems in their schools.

At the primary school level, the strategies which have been implemented to provide equal opportunities in education for boys and girls reflected a 'has been done' and a 'should be done' perspective in and outside the schools and are perceived in terms of:

- (a) sensitising parents to send all children to schools;
- (b) enabling boys and girls to compete academically;
- (c) enabling both boys and girls to participate in school leadership;
- (d) fostering classroom interaction through sitting arrangements;
- (e) providing a uniform curriculum, tests and questions in class;
- (f) providing role models for girls;
- (g) school enrolment and promotion to the next grade;
- (h) teachers not discriminating against either sex.

These strategies reflect individual schools' problems, which are manifested in the school system and wider society relative to the current drives in the country to provide equal opportunities in education to both boys and girls.

From all the strategies expressed by the respondents, it is possible to identify several broad dimensions which reflect a largely 'has been done' and 'should be done' perspective at the policy formation and implementation levels. What the respondents expressed suggests that a lot has been done to benefit girls by increasing:

- access and enrolment;
- retention;
- academic performance and competition with boys;
- interactions with boys.

But there are contradictions and paradoxes, which would indicate that little has been done and therefore more should be done because girls have not benefited as much as they should.

Sub-theme 4(a): Access and enrolment.

A lot of factors could account for the low population of girls in schools but, generally, there are disparities between urban and rural areas in terms of access and enrolment between boys and girls. According to the male UNEB the percentage of girls going to school in urban areas is roughly 50/50. Economic factors mean that, the number of girls in schools from primary to secondary school level has declined to 40/50. But overall the percentage of candidates attending secondary schools is about 38/65-70. At the district level, where primary school enrolment is more open unlike at the secondary school level, a lot depends on the ability of parents to pay school fees. For instance the DEO Masaka male noted that:

affirmative action policies, the sensitisation, training and mobilisation of the community have placed emphasis on parents to send as many girl children to school as possible. We have not had that stiff competition of limiting the enrolment figures, it is open without being aided by any affirmative action policies.

According to the female CE, opportunities like establishing more grant aided coeducation day schools at sub parish level; incentive grants schemes at school level; increasing the facilities for girls in schools; providing more protection and monitoring for girls by senior women teachers; and creating more female role models in schools have been provided by the government and schools to increase the enrolment. But there are still inequalities in the enrolment and retention of girls because the decision to send girls to school rests with parents.

Sub-theme 4(b): Retention.

To increase the retention of girls within the system of education, the curriculum has been used as a strategy of making education interesting enough for them. This is more so at the secondary school level. At the primary school level, boys are dropping out because of more lucrative economic activities. To retain them in the system, the curriculum has been vocationalised. The male DEO Mpigi noted that:

in the primary schools the curriculum has been vocationalised to attract the child to be in school, learn skills so that when he goes out of school he can use them. This curriculum mainly attracts more of boys than girls. If we intensify on the aims of education where vocational education is emphasised, more boys will be attracted into schools as they will be learning skills which they will use in their after school lives.

As has already been noted by the Masaka pair and the Mpigi male, many boys in their districts leave school to engage in economic generating activities which girls cannot do. Vocationalising the curriculum to retain children in schools could lead to lower enrolment and retention rates for them into secondary schools as they will have acquired their vocations at the primary school level.

Sub-theme 4(c): Interaction.

Interaction between boys and girls is one of the strategies used to raise gender awareness in schools. The head teacher of school 2 (a single sex boys' boarding) stresses that boys have to realise that they are not in an island of males in society. Women speakers are invited to talk to them on how to handle situations involving girls and to fit in with the rest of the society. Girls from equivalent boarding schools are invited for social occasions, to give boys the feeling of interacting socially and academically with somebody of the opposite sex. While the interaction aspect is used as a strategy, there is another aspect of protecting the girls, which inhibits full interaction. A male teacher in school 2 noted that:

there is that aspect of being protective towards the girls when they come here, we believe that these boys can do anything to them especially when they are drunk, so there is close monitoring of their movements.

In other words their teachers do not trust the students to be able to conduct themselves properly with members of the opposite sex. In school 3 (a coeducation boarding) school, interaction between boys and girls is limited because the school does not put in effort in encouraging it and boys are not trusted. One boy noted that:

the school has tried to provide equal opportunities for both sexes but one field where they have not come up is to trust us to the extent I would have expected them to, like in other coeducation schools. We are supposed to be in a mixed school, but the

atmosphere suggests two single sex schools in one, when we go for seminars students in other schools usually ask us where our girls are and why they don't participate. Although classes have few girls, but even those who are here are not encouraged to participate and interact more with the boys.

In school 5, protection of girls extends to not sharing the same dining hall facilities with the boys, as the girls' meals are taken up to them in their hostel. In schools (c) and (f) boys and girls are segregated in the dining hall. Policies in both primary and secondary schools encourage boys and girls to interact more, by sharing the same desks in class and mixing in the extra curriculum activities. But that interaction is inhibited by a lack of trust in students by the school authorities.

Sub-theme 4(d): Academic competition.

Inhibited interaction affects girls' academic performance and their ability to compete and challenge boys. It was expressed in school 3 that in the past there used to be more interactions, which went out of control. But instead of reducing the situation to within controllable proportions it was put down so that now there is virtually no interaction. One of the boys noted that:

the school administration decided to eradicate couples but in doing so they eradicated the confidence on interaction such that right now there is no interaction. The attitude that can be created is that us boys would feel more challenged to interact with a girl for instance who is better than I am because this would offer more competition, which can further lead to improvement on my part.

The boys pointed out that girls have their own ideas as do the boys, which should be mixed to improve the academic well being of society. Girls and women are no longer deemed as 'soft' and not able to understand because they are emotional. Another boy noted that:

in this school and in many others it has been proved that girls are capable of challenging us and performing as well as us because we do the same examinations and they have been able to show that they have the ability. So I think that it would be advantageous if girls and boys or men and women would interact more with each other and share ideas.

In an education system, which operates on the basis of academic competition between schools and between boys and girls, it is paradoxical that in coeducation schools, especially high performing ones, competition between boys and girls is not much encouraged. The dilemma lies in choosing between protecting and monitoring girls against early pregnancies and encouraging more interaction between boys and girls, which will threaten girls' well being, but improve the academic well being to their benefit.

Theme 5: Perceptions of gender inequality as a problem within or outside the system of education.

Interviewees revealed different perceptions of gender inequality in education. Some of the interviewees at the MoE did not envisage any problem as boys and girls have equal opportunities in education. Others generally agreed that there is a problem of gender inequality. There are three suggestions from the interviewees' perceptions of the problem:

- if there are still inequalities in spite of the institutional based strategies which have been implemented, the problem is not within but outside the system of education and can only be solved from outside the system;
- if the community and institutional based strategies implemented still leave a gap for more strategies the problem is within the system of education.

Perceiving gender inequality as a continuing problem within or outside the system of education in relation to individuals' perceptions of equal opportunities may lead to paradoxical and contradictory conclusions. According to the CE and NCDC males government has provided opportunities in the form of grant aided mixed day schools which are open to everybody, and in the form of a uniform curriculum and affirmative action policies to increase access, enrolment and retention of girls and boys. Therefore, as far as they are concerned there is no problem. If there is one, it is outside the system of education.

From the perspective of the female CE there are general provisions for access and enrolment of boys and girls but, they are not accessible to girls as their school population is still low. Secondly, while government policy provides for coeducation day schools, parents especially those with means would prefer to send their daughters to single sex girls' schools. She noted that:

parents' preference is to have their children apply to an all girls' school because of the advantages accrued to attending them, therefore I don't think that you would be according extra privileges to the girls by giving them more opportunities to go to school. There is need for more single sex girls' schools to increase their opportunities in accessibility to education for girls.

The call for more girls' schools to provide more access for girls implies that coeducation school policy in itself is not enough. It is perceived to be more open to boys than girls and therefore limits their access and enrolment. The CE male blames the continuing problem of inequalities on historical factors. He noted that:

some of the schools which are supposed to be mixed sometimes jokingly say that they are not mixed. We cannot say that they are mixed by virtue of colouring the school with a small number of 1/3 of enrolment. That is because the facilities were designed for fewer numbers of girls than boys.

This statement indicates a paradox in that, while the government policy is to make it possible for girls to have increased access and enrolment, they are denied those opportunities because the system of education does not provide enough facilities for them. Therefore, while the male indicates that the problem is outside the system of education, providing fewer facilities for girls locates the problem within the system of education.

The NCDC male acknowledged that boys and girls do have equal access to educational opportunities, although there are still inequalities between boys and girls.

He stated that:

the problem is not within the system of education, our education does not make it difficult for girls to have access. But social, economic and cultural practices have made the girl child a less advantaged person.

The female NCDC is of the view that the problem of gender inequality is still within the system of education as pregnant girls and girl mothers do not have access to educational opportunities. Girls spend more time than the boys doing household chores because their parents have not been sensitised into distributing work equally between boys and girls.

The UNEB pair acknowledged that there are still inequalities in opportunities in education which result in inequalities in academic performance between boys and girls, boarding and day schools and urban and rural based schools. The board provides equal opportunities by fulfilling its objectives of testing for academic performance and achievement and therefore the problem is not within the board but outside the system of education. The strategies, which have been implemented to provide more access to girls, make the system inaccessible; the curriculum confines girls to traditional female subjects; and many girls leave school due to early pregnancies because of inadequate information. There are also inequalities in academic performance between boys and girls. This suggests that, while all the three males and one female at the MoE level appear to perceive the problem to be outside the system of education, gender inequality as a problem is also manifested within the system of education.

All the female and male DEOs acknowledged that equal opportunities are provided for both boys and girls but there is still a problem of enrolment and retention of boys and girls. In Masaka and Mpigi districts it was perceived to be a largely boys' problem although the male DEO is of the view that it is outside the system of education. He noted that:

there are no school-related problems as far as gender and enrolment are concerned, but there are social related problems as far as gender is concerned, societies are luring boys away from schools. It is the perception of society that can determine how they are going to treat schools, if there is enough enrolment and staff the school does its work.

According to the female and male DEOs government policies and provisions do not discriminate between boys and girls. Strategies which have been implemented in the district have resulted into making the girl child a more advantaged person. The male in Mpigi noted that cultural attitudes have changed towards the education of girls as many parents find it more convenient to protect them when they are in schools than at home. In families when there is not enough money to pay school fees for all the children, boys are pulled out of the school system to do petty businesses which girls cannot do but which can generate income for the family. His female colleague blames parents who discriminate against girls by choosing to educate boys only in cases where there are financial constraints in the family, and mothers who prefer to use girls to help them domestic chores which gives boys more time for study than girls. The DEO Kampala female however perceives the problem to be within the system of education, because of the school practices like corporal punishments, which affect boys' and girls' participation in education. Teachers preferred girls and not boys because they think they are smarter and brighter.

At the primary and secondary school levels, the problem solving strategies which respondents stated to have been implemented suggest that there are no gender inequalities and therefore the problem is outside the system of education. However the suggested strategies are relative to individual schools which have individual problems. For instance, increasing the enrolment of girls is not considered to be the concern of schools. They are competitive and have their individual admission criteria and procedures. One male teacher in school 1 (a single sex girls' boarding) noted that:

it is not the duty of teachers to get parents to send girls to school, but I think the government should come in and educate the communities into sending children to schools through the media.

Most of the respondents perceived the government and not the schools to be at the core of sensitising parents into sending both boys and girls to schools. Schools do not have a problem of under enrolment. It is possible therefore that they are not aware of low enrolment among girls. This attitude suggests limited interaction between schools and communities, with a demarcation of educational roles. According to male DEO Masaka, the problem with schools is that they are not open to the community and are therefore not used as instruments of sensitisation or as education centres, where both children and parents go to educate themselves.

From all the measures outlined by the interviewees, to retain girls within the system and therefore solve the problem, there is still a problem of retention of pregnant girls and girl mothers which locates the problem within the system of education. It seems that while government strategies are aiming at the retention of girls within the system of education, many school policies, and practices of male teachers are forcing them out. In Mpigi district the DEO female reported that many incidents, which result in early pregnancies, involve male teachers and the problem she and other female teachers face is sensitising girls against visiting male teachers' home and limiting their relationships with boys.

Protection of the girls to the extent of limiting their interaction with members of the opposite sex through rigid regulations (like having set time tables for every activity, boys and girls not attending night prep together, girls dressing conservatively) are implemented by schools to protect girls and to ensure that they complete their education. But the implication of over protecting girls denies both boys and girls the chance of seeing each other as having the same academic goals and abilities. One male teacher from school 3 noted that:

many rules are applied because of the fear that somebody brings his or her daughter here, so should anything happen it will be between us teachers and the parents. Much as it is good to protect them it puts them at a disadvantage, they don't benefit from the academic challenges that come from their interaction with boys.

The paradox of the coeducation schools is that, while they are established to be open to both boys and girls in terms of access and enrolment the school policies, practices of teachers and members of the community make them more closed to girls as they turn them into a more disadvantaged group.

The evidence from the varied perceptions of equal opportunities in education for both boys and girls held by the key players in the implementation of policies has

identified a number of paradoxes and contradictions (see Appendix 8, table 4.15). They highlight the dangers of implementing unthinkingly equal opportunities policies from western societies in developing countries. It seemed fruitful to pursue this territory as very often, policies on equal opportunities in education which have an international western dimension are prescribed for implementation in developing countries including Uganda, to improve the situation of girls and women. What is not taken into account is the fact that the key players in the policy implementation process interpret these policies to suit their individual countries' problems and environments. An evaluation of the success or failure to implement the prescribed policies from the perspective of the implementers may reveal that equal opportunities involve both boys and girls. Whereas from the perspective of funding bodies and researchers who prescribe policies it may appear that very little has been done to improve their situation.

The following chapter discusses and develops further the theme of 'paradox' as well as contradictions, which have been identified in the interview data. It identifies the main elements of key players' perceptions of equal opportunities in education from the Ugandan perspective. It further suggests that the perceptions held by the key players on the equality of educational opportunities in education for males and females, is a critical issue for national and international funding bodies and researchers to consider before prescribing western model policies for developing countries.

Chapter Five

Chapter Five.

Discussion of Findings.

Introduction.

The review of literature on gender inequality in education from the developed and developing countries' contexts suggested that in developing countries, providing equal opportunities is determined by people's attitudes towards education and gender, which can be assessed with socio-economic, socio-cultural and school related factors. The review also revealed that the problem of gender inequality in education in developing countries, and Uganda in particular, is perceived in terms of access, enrolment and retention of girls in the system of education and the benefits which societies derive from sending girls and boys to school. It was also revealed that, while there are policies in education to increase access, enrolment, and retention of girls within the system of education, the gap between girls and boys and men and women is still very wide.

The study therefore set out to explore how the perceptions of the key players in the implementation of equal opportunities for girls and boys at the MoE, district, school and classroom levels influence policy implementation and how their perceptions explain the continuing problem of gender inequality in education. The research questions, which focused the study, were:

1. What has been done so far from the perceptions of the key players, in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?
2. In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitudes to gender what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?

The analysis revealed that in Uganda, while there are policies to increase access, enrolment and retention of girls within the system of education, policies are paradoxical in that not only do they continue to disadvantage girls, but boys as well. In Uganda, the concept of paradox as an element in implementing equality of

opportunity has been given little attention and therefore emerges as central to the discussion of the findings.

The paradox of equal opportunities in Uganda.

It emerged from the data that, at the MoE, district, school and classroom levels, the interviewees had different perceptions of equal opportunities in education as women and men and girls and boys. The men and boys perceived equal opportunities as a simple issue of providing opportunities to increase access, enrolment and retention for all. The girls and women perceived equal opportunities in education as a complex issue, involving gender specific strategies to increase access, enrolment and retention for girls within the system of education. The perceptions of equal opportunities in education as simple or complex issues led to the realisation that the outcome of the policies implemented were in themselves paradoxical. These paradoxes are organised and discussed around three themes:

- (a) The paradox of access;
- (b) The paradox of enrolment;
- (c) The paradox of retention.

Using the concept of 'paradox' to explain the 'unintended outcomes' of these strategies and policies the concept is taken to mean that:

- (1) in Uganda, while it is taken for granted that equal opportunities in education are provided for all, the reality is that some people are actually getting fewer opportunities;
- (2) people who are supposed to be helped, for instance by affirmative action policies to provide them with opportunities in education, are in the actual fact disadvantaged by the same policies.

Two approaches to studying and evaluating the effectiveness of the recommended strategies were used in this study:

- (i) a review of existing Ugandan documents on policy in education relative to national and international policy recommendations; and
- (ii) a study of key players' perceptions of equal opportunities in education relative to international policy recommendations for improving the situation of girls and women in education.

The paradox is that these two measures do not run in parallel, but in opposite directions. Table 4.15 (Appendix 11) summarises the paradoxical and contradictory outcomes of the policies, implemented to increase access, enrolment and retention of girls within the system of education in Uganda. Findings from the data provide a model which suggest that in Uganda, equal opportunities in education can be seen as a spectrum (see model below). At one point there is the provision of specific opportunities to enable girls and boys to have equality of access, enrolment and retention in the system of education. At the other point, the framework is based on analysis of the causes of inequalities reflected in the socio-economic, socio-cultural, school related and the paradoxical policies, which end up excluding either group from the school system.

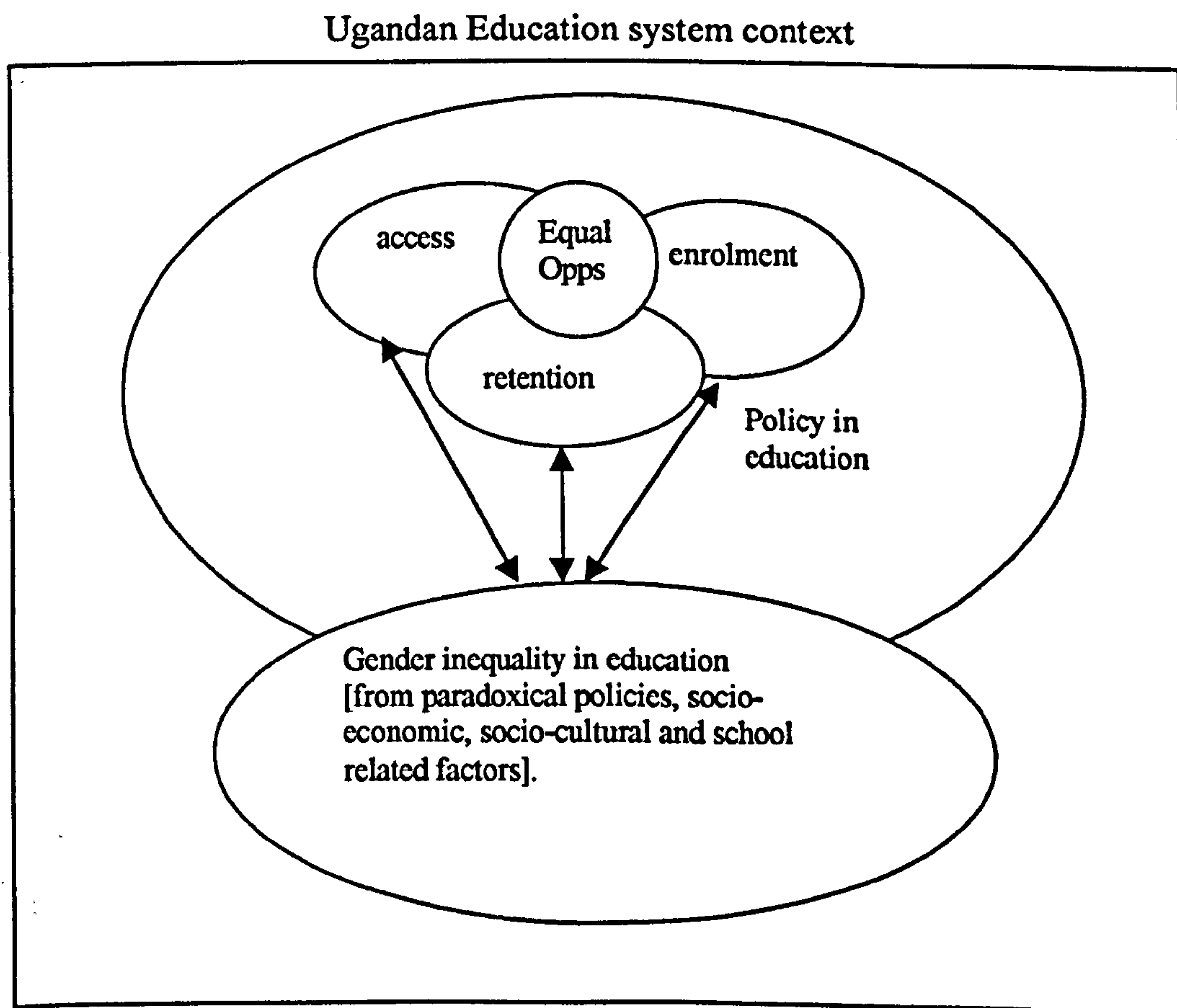


Figure 5.1: The spectrum of equal opportunities in education.

The paradox of access.

Access to education and schooling for girls in developing countries including Uganda, as the literature review revealed, is significantly lower than that of boys. An

economic supply-driven model proposed by Anderson (1988) suggests that limited educational access often results from limited educational resources. Thus improving opportunities for some groups of people may result in disadvantaging other groups. In Uganda, government policy stated in the EPRCR (1992) and reiterated by respondents at the MoE and district and school levels, is to increase access to education for boys and girls by increasing the number of grant aided coeducation day schools. This policy makes the process of providing equal opportunities in access to education for all appear to be a simple issue of increasing the number of schools. This approach is consistent with what Stromquist (1995) considers to be characteristic of developing countries which address the problem of access by building more schools under the assumption that both boys and girls will benefit equally. The Ugandan paradox of this approach is that, education policy places emphasis on access to schooling without emphasising parity between girls and boys. To address girls' problem of access to education and schooling the Commission, which was set up to review the country's education policy in 1989, recommended that government should provide more single sex secondary schools exclusively for girls to ensure their security while receiving education. Conversely, the Uganda government policy makes it clear that:

- (a) exclusive secondary schools for girls per se cannot provide the real guarantee for security in secondary institutions of education as the commission assumes. Girls would in any case mix with the rest of the community in everyday life especially outside school time;
- (b) girls are normally not threatened by schoolboys as much as they are harassed by mature unprincipled men in the community, mainly due to low levels and wrong orientations of morality, social consciousness and sensitivity about social obligations and responsibilities;
- (c) emphasising the establishment of exclusive boarding secondary schools including those for normal (not disabled) girls throughout the country as a security solution would contradict government policy of discouraging boarding school education so as to avail educational opportunities to more Ugandan children, through the proliferation of day schools throughout the country;
- (d) establishing two types of secondary schools and vocational institutions exclusively for girls throughout the country at district level, and converting existing secondary schools into comprehensive secondary schools, one general

school at county level, and appointing a male head teacher and a female deputy or vice versa in coeducation schools would be too expensive and wasteful;

- (e) establishing exclusive secondary schools for normal (not disabled) girls throughout the country will unnecessarily complicate the important process of the emancipation of women and democratisation of education;
- (f) bringing up girls and boys in artificially segregated communities does more harm than good to both boys and girls. The correct, progressive and constructive values, ethics, emotions, morality, social decorum, etiquette and attitudes are better evolved among boys and girls when there is constant and continuous social interaction in a mixed setting. Segregation prevents the healthy social process that is necessary for the inculcation of attitudes that are necessary for social tolerance and balanced emotional control and for other desirable social habits and practices;
- (g) above all, the fundamental causes of low levels of education among women are more related to the negative attitudes in Uganda's cultures, or those resulting from social and economic factors as well as poor facilities for girls in schools rather than the teaching of girls in mixed schools (EPRCR, 1992:126).

This rationale against single-sex schools contradicts the concerns of many international and Ugandan feminist researchers and writers, who have suggested that, coeducation settings unlike single-sex settings do not offer the best environment for girls' participation and achievement in education. Nor does the government rationale for providing coeducation schools take into account the concern of many parents in Uganda for their daughters' safety against pregnancies and early marriages. Much as the government of Uganda portrays the coeducation school system to be more beneficial to both boys and girls than single sex education, there is evidence to suggest that it has limitations. For instance, when mixed together in a classroom setting, boys and girls are treated differently by their teachers and their attitudes and behaviours in the classroom affect girls' levels of achievement. There is also evidence to suggest that the majority of male and female teachers in coeducation secondary schools prefer to work with boys. This provides boys with a disproportionate share of teachers' time and attention, while high achieving boys are particularly more favoured than similarly performing girls. Stanworth (1983:23) recommended that:

we need to develop a systematic understanding of how girls and boys themselves

interpret classroom encounters and how their experience of classroom life influences their views about the worth and capabilities of the sexes.

From this perspective, boys and girls in the coeducation schools which participated in the present study provided evidence, which confirms Stanworth's findings that coeducation schools may not particularly favour girls. The girls blame their disadvantaged position on boys' attitudes and behaviour towards them in the classroom. It was suggested that girls demonstrate low academic abilities because boys deny them the chance of saying something in class. In school 4, an urban relatively low performing day coeducation secondary school, one girl reported that:

there are some girls who are scared of talking in public even among their friends. So for those girls it is necessary to be given the chance to say something in the classroom, but the boys in our class scream on top of their voices, they don't respect the teachers.

Girls' lack of confidence in themselves and boys' disruptive behaviour in the classroom and the teachers who allow the boys to get away with it, could explain girls' underachievement and why teachers prefer to work with boys. However, the boys blame girls themselves for their disadvantaged position regarding the noise in the classroom. One of the boys in the same school said that:

that may be happening in a few classes but not in the whole school, also you find that most of the girls are the 'backbenchers' and they make more noise than the boys who sit in front of the class. So when the 'backbenching' girls make noise then the boys also do the same and I think that is why they say that boys make noise.

Boys' behaviour in response to girls' behaviour raises questions about girls' own classroom behaviour as a determinant of boys' attitudes and behaviours towards them. Research has revealed that boys' attitudes and behaviours affects girls' academic attainment, but has not given enough attention to the contribution of girls' own attitudes and behaviours toward their own disadvantage. It may be that by displaying such negative behavioural tendencies such as making noise in the classroom, girls may unknowingly be undermining their position with the boys and teachers in the class, which may not only contribute to their low achievement levels but influence their teachers' preference for boys.

The girls believe that boys undermine them, preventing them from participating effectively. Another girl in school 4 said that:

I think that if we are given more opportunities girls would not be undermined. In class if the teacher asks a question the girl will answer and some boy will know that the girl is academically able and will not undermine her.

But the boys blame the girls for not wanting to participate in classroom activities especially those who prefer to occupy the backbenches. One of boys explained that

girls preferred to sit at the back of the classroom to escape their teachers' attention.

He said that:

in most cases girls don't want to be noticed to be asked questions, they think that when they sit at the back they will not be asked questions. Usually it is a group of girls who all know each other, they eat together and they walk together and so occupy the backbenches.

This statement suggests the influence of peer pressure among the girls and their tendency to conform to a 'girl culture' in class. This might be difficult for a teacher to break down. A teacher who is not gender sensitive might be perceived to be uncaring towards girls and, as Stanworth (1983) noted, prefer to work with boys.

School 3 (a high performing coeducation-boarding secondary school), offers another example of how girls and boys interpret classroom encounters. The girls blame their lack of effective participation in the classroom on boys' behaviour and attitudes towards them and the teachers' perceptions of boys' attitudes and behaviours as a culture and tradition of the school. One of the girls said that:

girls' problems start around S.2, when we first come here we are much better than the boys, we are all very active and enthusiastic about everything. In S.2 people begin growing up and boys seem to get wild, when a girl puts up her hand the boys shout and boo at her. Some girls are weak such that boys just shout at her once and she will never put up her hand again. At times the teachers just look on and let it pass, they think that it is a tradition and feel that is how it should be and let it go on. But deep down the girls get more discouraged from being active in class.

This is another demonstration of how girls in coeducation schools as opposed to single sex schools are dominated by the boys' noisy classroom behaviour, whenever the teacher calls upon a girl to answer questions in class. But the boys also blame girls for their attitudes towards them, which results from what they see as an unfair advantage which girls have over them. This is especially so when it comes to topics related to gender issues where, according to the boys, girls try to monopolise the seminars and want to take advantage of the situation. One of the boys said that:

I think it is good for girls to have the same opportunities in education as the boys, but sometimes it happens that it is overdone, where girls want to have more than they should have on their side. We usually have seminars and talks and girls want to be ahead of everyone because of this awakening in gender. Sometimes we boys are left behind, we have to fight for ourselves and when we complain they say we are not being realistic. Girls have heard it from politicians where they say that girls are disadvantaged, and from the women's groups which come here to give talks and bring it out, they feel that it is time for them to come on top instead of coming level. That is how they get the misunderstanding with the boys.

What the girls and boys say suggests a clash of 'girl-boy cultures' in coeducation schools which leads writers and researchers on sexism in schools (Mahony, 1985:7)

to conclude that 'mixed sex groupings constitute a disaster area for girls'. While it is true that boys' behaviour and attitudes towards girls may influence girls' participation, there is a possibility that girls' own attitudes and behaviours in turn influence boys' attitudes and behaviours towards them, especially with the current drive to provide a gender sensitive environment at the classroom level. There is therefore a need for more studies to explain girls' attitudes and behaviours in the classroom relative to boys in the light of the current attention paid to girls in Ugandan schools.

Where the coeducation school system has been implemented, there are problems to do with girls' low academic achievement, which has raised international concern. The UN (1995:102) reported that separate classes for boys and girls in particular fields of study have been introduced in some European countries and, to create an interest in technology among young girls, summer courses in technology are proposed. In Sweden the UN reported that in certain pilot projects girls are taught how to speak freely and to present their opinions while boys are taught to write and to listen. This results from experience which has shown that equality must be mainstreamed in the teaching process in order to give boys and girls equal opportunities in education. Clearly, coeducation cannot be seen as an end in itself to provide equal opportunities in education, as studies conducted outside Uganda demonstrate. There is more to increasing access to schooling for girls. The commitment to provide equal opportunities by adopting the coeducation school policy in Uganda and in many developing countries is determined by the limited budget. In countries like Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, a higher GNP from oil revenues (Sanabary 1993) enables their governments to provide single sex schools for girls.

Protecting girls to allay parents' fear for their safety and to increase their confidence in coeducation schools requires instituting rigid school rules and regulations which aim at keeping boys and girls as far apart as possible. This may create discontent among both girls and boys at the lack of social and academic interaction between them, as demonstrated in school 3. Therefore establishing single-sex classes in school 3 in Uganda, as suggested by the UN (1995) recommendations, would further limit their interaction than it is at present. Boys' achievement would be affected because, while the girls complain that boys' classroom behaviour and attitude towards them undermines their academic ability, the boys on the other hand believe

that girls are capable academic achievers and offer more academic challenge to them than their fellow male peers offer. In school 4 boys think that girls are high academic achievers and therefore treat them with respect. One boy said that:

we treat them fairly because some girls are bright and we try to make use of their academic ability so that they can help us with our work and we help them with theirs.

In school 3, where it is widely known that boys undermine girls as they think that they are not 'performers', the boys expressed similar views on girls' academic potential. However, they blame the school policy for separating both girls and boys to provide security for girls for causing their disadvantaged position in their school.

Another boy said that:

if there were more interactions between boys and girls, I think it would improve our academic performance. There are some girls who are very good at mathematics and we boys can benefit from them, which in turn will help us to acquire a positive attitude to living with them.

Establishing single sex classes to increase girls' classroom participation within coeducation schools in Uganda would depend on how the problem is perceived. It may be seen as a school-related factor, where it is only boys' and teachers' attitudes and behaviours towards girls in class, and the sex stereotyping in the curriculum and schoolbooks, which influence girls' effective classroom participation. Or it may be seen as a derivative of the benefits associated with educating sons rather than daughters relative to parents' attitudes towards girls, education and marriage, as reflected in the socio-economic and socio-cultural factors, which determine girls' participation in education.

The paradox of coeducation schools is not confined to Uganda. For instance, while the UN and other bodies recommend coeducation to increase access to education for girls, in some Islamic countries the prevailing social and religious values oppose coeducation. Parents and policy makers are concerned about the behaviour of adolescent girls and boys in a mixed setting (Sanabary, 1993). In Uganda creating security for girls has resulted in disadvantages for both boys and girls. Students from coeducation boarding schools 3 and 5 are of the view that there are two single-sex schools within their coeducation schools, with rigid school rules and regulations, which make their schools prisons for girls, compared to the boys who seem to have more freedom.

In developed countries, the single-sex/coeducation debate is about girls'/boys' academic achievement. Studies in the UK, according to Finn, Reis and Dulberg

(1982:112) have revealed that girls in single sex schools were superior readers compared to their male peers, while reading comprehension means were about equal in coeducation schools. Girls in single-sex schools performed better in biology and chemistry than boys in all male institutions, while boys in coeducation schools outperformed girls. Studies that show high achievement among girls in coeducation settings led to the conclusion that girls are better off when they are on their own. Gipps and Murphy (1996:5, citing Gardners' 1991 model) suggests that:

students possess different kinds of minds and therefore learn, remember, and understand in different ways. Some take a primarily linguistic approach others a quantitative approach; some perform best when asked to manipulate symbols, others when they have to perform at a practical level. These differences challenge educational systems that assume that everyone can and should learn the same materials in the same way.

This model reflects initiatives and projects undertaken for instance in Danish schools using segregation as an organisational method to introduce and develop equal opportunities and anti-sexist pedagogical initiatives. According to Kruse (1996) the 'Project Girls' Class-Boys' Class was designed to promote gender equity in Danish schools. The teachers (a woman and a man) mixed their two classes and segregated the girls and boys in certain subjects to give them space and tutoring on their own terms. Results suggested that the girls developed self-confidence and preferred to be in their girls' only setting; while the boys' class provided important learning experience for boys in raising their awareness of values and attitudes suggesting that boys more than girls benefit from coeducational settings. While such a situation might be permissible to girls in schools 3 and 4 in Uganda who are complaining about boys' behaviour and attitudes towards them, it would not be permissible for the government whose policy (EPRCR, 1992:126) is committed to the coeducation system as a means of:

providing a healthy social process that is necessary for the inculcation of attitudes that are necessary for social tolerance and balanced emotional control.

Mahony (1985) argues that sensitively managed, the provision of single-sex groups in mixed schools can be of enormous benefit to girls. She cited Cornbleet and Sanders' DASI Project [Developing Anti-Sexist Initiative] (1982) in which girls revealed their enjoyment of the lesson and relief from the absence of less arguing and noise from boys and being called names. Mahony also cited other reports, which argued that single-sex teaching is not the way to get more girls to take up maths and science subjects. Criticisms against the single-sex strategy in a coeducation setting

ranged from organisational problems, limited benefits for both boys and girls, to teachers' dislike because of disciplinary problems with boys. Mahony (1985) therefore concluded that coeducation is not more socially desirable for girls because it is more normal. Rather because it is more normal it is for girls highly undesirable. According to Mahony, this does not mean that girls' schools have no need to look critically at the messages they convey about women just because boys are absent. Nor does it mean that boys' schools, just because girls are absent, are inevitably building sites for the macho male.

Recent studies on the single-sex, coeducation debate have shed more light on the advantages, which accrue to each type of setting. For instance Parker and Rennie (1997) reported on the research involving the single-sex education pilot project in Australia which was aiming at:

- increasing the participation of and outcomes for girls in mathematics and physical sciences;
- increasing teachers' understanding of gender issues in teaching and learning.

Findings from the research suggest that 'single-sex classes appeared to benefit in quite different ways both boys and girls. The classes were seen to hold the most benefit for specific groups of girls who were experiencing a great deal of harassment from boys in mixed-sex classes. They held the least benefit for high achieving girls and boys and for boys in some classes, which were particularly difficult to discipline. According to Parker and Rennie (1997:130), some parents of the boys who were high achievers considered that being in an all boys' class disadvantaged their sons because it is noisier, disruptive and less productive in terms of work done. This study confirms the effect of parents' perceptions and preference for single-sex or coeducation, which in developing countries like Uganda is related to girls and academic performance and therefore a great determinant of girls' education.

Lepore and Warren (1997) conducted a longitudinal study to explore the assumption that single-sex schools are more effective especially for girls, because of the absence of gender-based competition and discrimination that exist in coeducation schools. The findings showed no positive statistically significant effects of attending single sex schools. This suggests that girls from a coeducation setting are as likely to be high achievers as girls in a single sex school setting. Barker's (1997) case study in a coeducation institution, to investigate the phenomenon of increasing poor male

GCSE scores, revealed that by 1995, girls outperformed boys by an average half grade across all subjects. Boys were seen to be falling behind subject by subject including mathematics which, is traditionally regarded as an area of male success. According to Barker, a number of activities were undertaken by the teachers to improve the situation for boys, and the most successful activities are those where everything is planned to prevent gender, ability and other student differences from blocking progress.

Teachers in Barker's study did not welcome single sex lessons, sets or schools as a way forward. They considered the girls to perform as well as students of similar ability in non-selective girls' schools, while an all-male environment may compound the least attractive aspects of male attitudes and behaviour. It was revealed that even the best selective boys' schools lag behind their female equivalents, so there is little evidence that segregation is an appropriate or successful response to perceived gender differences. From the Ugandan perspective, as the findings from the CE female suggest in chapter four, there is also little evidence to suggest that single sex schools are successful in addressing gender differences especially in increasing access, as they are highly selective and instead of admitting more girls, they close their doors on them.

The widely held perceptions of gender disparities in academic achievement may have led the Pan-African Conference (1993:24) to recommend establishing single-sex girls' schools or classes for girls to help them improve their school performance and achievement in science and mathematics education. This recommendation follows in the wake of the realisation that there is a mismatch between good classroom teaching, achievement and available time for study for girls. The urge to establish more girls' schools, for instance by the World Bank (1993) and the Pan-Africa Conference (1993), are based on the assumption that single-sex girls' schools may help to increase female enrolment and may have more positive effects on girls' achievement and self perceptions. Single sex schools are perceived as promoting girls' attendance and performance in a wide variety of subjects ranging from language to mathematics especially at the secondary level. It is difficult to attribute these effects to school characteristics alone because non-school factors such as socio-economic background, ability and motivation may affect both the choice of school and educational outcomes. The literature and analysis of the data in the present study

revealed that girls have to help with household chores at home out of school hours relative to boys, whose education is more favoured and more time is allowed to study.

According to available research, what coeducational or single-sex schools actually do differently is not well understood. However, emerging evidence seems to suggest that in single-sex settings, girls have greater opportunity to study and more encouragement to excel and to try non-traditional subjects from both teachers and peers in girls' school. Studies on the academic achievement of third year students in Kenya, established that girls from single-sex schools performed as well as boys from single-sex schools and significantly better than both boys and girls from coeducation schools in mathematics (Boit 1986 cited by Hyde, 1993). In Swaziland the relative pass rate in science was the same for girls in both types of schools, although girls in single sex schools were more likely to opt for mathematics and agriculture than for physical science (Weldon and Smith, 1986 cited by Hyde, 1993). In Tanzania, Amuge (1987 cited in Hyde, 1993), found out that there did not appear to be a significant difference between the performance of girls in single-sex and mixed schools when a wide range of subjects was looked at, although boys outperformed girls in all subject areas except commerce.

However, in Uganda, despite the international call to increase access for girls by increasing the number of single-sex girls' schools, government policy is very clear on coeducation. According to the EPRCR (1992:165) the current policy is that:

- all new government primary, secondary and tertiary institutions will be coeducational;
- the existing secondary schools that are exclusively for girls may continue functioning in that mode. However, they will be required and supported to admit boys wherever this is possible and convenient;
- new educational institutions that are exclusively for girls will be considered and if necessary established for disadvantaged social groups and in special areas that are economically or socially disadvantaged.

Like the Uganda government, Kruse (1996:189) agrees that single-sex education is not a goal in itself. Single-sex pedagogy, as in the projects described earlier, is a means to help girls as well as boys understand sex-roles and attitudes as social constructions that can be changed by those involved. This, according to Kruse, does

not mean that single-sex classes or schools are always likely to be positive. Sex segregated education can be used for emancipation or oppression, but as a method it does not guarantee an outcome. The intentions, the understanding of people and their gender, the pedagogical attitudes and practices are crucial, as in all pedagogical work. The aim, as Kruse noted, is to provide equal rights and create a sense of equal worth for girls and boys so that they can meet and experience equal and mutual appreciation and respect.

In the Ugandan situation, where the issue in coeducation schools is to increase access to education by demonstrating that they can protect girls, coeducation schools would not appear to be the best strategy to increase girls' access to education because of the 'unintended effect' of restricting the interaction between boys and girls. Girls in school 1 (a high performing single-sex boarding school) feel that single-sex settings inhibit all forms of interaction between boys and girls which in turn limit the amount of competition each would offer the other. One of the girls said that:

if possible, single-sex schools should be eliminated because it gets hard to interact if the boy is in his school and the girl is in her school. The seminars are not enough for instance there could be only one seminar or two in a term but if schools were mixed we could face higher competition.

In spite of the wide spread knowledge that girls in coeducation schools perform worse than boys, and from their own school experience, that girls in single-sex schools perform better than boys in coeducation and single-sex schools, the girls prefer a coeducation school setting. They believe that even if their single-sex school was to be turned into coeducation they would still continue to outperform the boys.

Another girl said that:

I think we would continue to perform well because a good number of us have brothers and there isn't any difference in our academic performance.

While another girl thinks that:

coeducation would work and we could continue to perform well because the boys would provide competition through interaction as we would be saying that we should work hard to 'beat' such and such a boy.

The implication is that girls who are high achievers and confident, will continue to achieve highly regardless of the type of school. Indeed for the high achieving girls coeducation settings may prove to be of more benefit, as academic interaction with boys would provide more competition. The high achieving girls blamed girls' poor academic performance in coeducation schools on those girls' lack of effort. One girl said that:

I think it's a girls' problem because they take boys to be some kind of people whom they have to please and they forget that it is for such a short time and these boys are going to forget them and start reading their books. Girls spend their time on planning what they are going to wear the following day, how they are going to comb their hair and forget that their books are more important. So girls should realise that they should not please the boys because they are just like them, but read their books to beat them.

The evidence from the key players' perceptions of equal opportunities in education in Uganda suggests contradictions and paradoxes which may lead to the conclusion that very little has been done to increase access to education and schooling for girls. Therefore it might be construed that policies and strategies such as coeducation, implemented to provide the same opportunity in access to education for boys and girls, have failed to deliver, because those who are supposed to be helped are actually disadvantaged in terms of academic achievement by the same policies. Or while single-sex class policies are designed to help girls to succeed, they also disadvantage the previously advantaged boys in terms of academic achievement and limited interaction with the girls.

The paradox of enrolment.

Fagerlind and Saha's (1991) and Anderson's (1988) models for explaining educational inequality includes participation through enrolment and attendance in formal educational activities. According to them, in some countries of the world statistics indicate that girls enrol in schools to the same extent or more than boys do, at least at the lower levels. However this is not true in less developed countries where boys dominate in school classes. According to the UN (1995), few countries have established national plans of action to promote greater parity in school enrolments. This can be explained from Anderson's (1988:15) survey of literature on policies to improve access and participation in developing countries, which established that:

- (a) policies intended to increase the overall supply of educational opportunities have increased access to education. However, while the numbers of children in schools have increased, these policies have not been equally successful for all groups of children;
- (b) educational systems reflect and reinforce the larger socio-economic and political contexts and as such, cannot alone overcome discrimination and disadvantage directed at certain groups within the society. Whatever disadvantage exists in other spheres of society shows up as a factor influencing participation and retention in schools;

- (c) because of the existing patterns of influence on participation, every policy either reinforces existing patterns of access and exclusion in schooling or challenges them;
- (d) any attempt to overcome these society-based historical barriers to participation through treating all children equally will fail. Treating un-equals as if they are equal is to perpetuate inequality.

According to Anderson, policy solutions to access and participation in education problems focus on understanding the causes of these problems and addressing them specifically and directly.

The UN document (1995) reported increases in enrolment which may be because it is the easiest measure for governments to promote, as it is frequently linked to general school enrolment and expansion of systems of education. According to the UN, this does not occur automatically. If there are no gender-specific educational policies, countries even with relatively high per capita GNP show disappointing achievements in terms of progress in female enrolment. Kelly (1987) observed that a policy that seeks to bring women into schools needs to provide conditions that will enable women to attend school. Davies (1986, citing Ta Ngoc Chau, 1985) concluded that reducing inequalities implies deliberate action to counteract the natural dynamics of the expansion of educational systems. Such actions may be in the form of 'positive discrimination' which Wang (1983, cited in Anderson, 1988) explains as a deliberate effort to bring new groups which have been previously excluded into education and it usually proves more effective in encouraging participation among targeted groups. In this instance, increasing enrolment for girls would be defined as an 'equal opportunity to gain entry using different admissions or application procedures' (Grant, 1989).

Stromquist (1995) noted that given the efforts implemented so far it becomes relevant to examine what has happened in gender-based efforts in education. What forms have the problems taken? What kinds of solutions have been proposed? What outcomes have been obtained? The major mechanism adopted in many developing countries including Uganda is that of quota systems in the post primary levels to ensure parity of representation with regard to gender. Uganda is one of the countries reported in the UN document (1995) to have taken policy initiatives since 1985 to

encourage affirmative action in favour of women until gender balance is achieved.

This policy is stated in the EPRCR (1992:165):

special incentives and concessions will be provided to stimulate further and encourage more girls' and women's effective participation in education at all levels in both the formal and non-formal sectors. Government will do this in realistic and purposeful recognition of the long historical factors that have caused women's disadvantaged social and educational positions and the urgent need to redress this condition, and therefore remove the forced inferior and backward social position for women.

This policy is being implemented in terms of enrolment in post-primary and governmental institutions of higher learning. It is stated in the EPRCR (1992) that:

- (a) government continues to provide special incentives for increased enrolment and retention of girls and women at institutions of learning. At university, other tertiary institutions and secondary schools, women will continue to receive concessionary admission requirements and increased number of places. Educational institutions will be required to fix minimum admission quotas and to relax entry requirements for girls and women;
- (b) vigorous and accelerated registration of female teachers, tutors and lecturers and administrators will be undertaken to increase their availability, particularly in coeducation institutions. These institutions will be offered incentives for attracting girls/women to them and reducing their dropout rates.

Zambia provides an example where the country's gender variant policy, as Davies (1986) noted, is of having a lower pass mark for girls to enter secondary schools in order to redress the male domination of the system. Positive discrimination carries the political dangers of disaffection from those not accorded special privileges and also the labelling dangers of confirming disadvantaged girls as substandard. The backlash of the affirmative action policy implemented in Uganda is evident in the widespread discontent expressed by the boys and some of their male teachers. They saw it as confirming girls' academic incompetence, and as something grossly unfair to the boys. One male teacher in school 2 (a high performing boys' single-sex boarding school) expressed the general feeling of the boys towards girls and affirmative action to increase their intake into the university. He said that:

giving extra points to girls to join the university creates a negative attitude among boys, when we talk to them trying to encourage them to work harder to go for further studies we compare their performance to the girls' performance. They always say that for them they are geniuses unlike their female counterparts who have to be helped to go for further studies. So I feel that the idea of assisting the female sex to balance them with men has a negative attitude in the long run.

Anderson cited Martin (1983) who observed that this policy had the effect of confirming girls as 'less able' in teachers' eyes and inducing hostilities towards girls who took places that should have rightfully gone to the boys. Giving concessions to girls to increase their enrolment can have a negative connotation especially among the young who grow up knowing that girls have to be helped to join secondary schools. For instance boys in primary school (b) (a high performing single-sex boarding school) were aware of the way in which girls were helped to gain admission to coeducation secondary schools. One boy said that:

giving equal chances depends on schools, some schools lower marks for girls. Like school 3 (a coeducation boarding secondary school) boys are admitted on aggregate 4 while girls are admitted on aggregate 6 up to 13.

This knowledge not only creates a negative attitude towards girls' academic performance, but the type of school as well, as it will be compared to single-sex schools where boys and girls are admitted without affirmative action policies. Admitting girls at a lower score in co-education schools in the view of high achieving girls, puts those girls at a disadvantage, as they cannot compete effectively with the boys. Girl (e) in single-sex school 1 said that:

in the best mixed schools you find that boys are admitted at an aggregate of 4 while girls are admitted at an aggregate of 14, it is only the weak girls who go there. So if the girl came in knowing that this boy was the first in the country and I came with an aggregate of 14 there is no way she is going to compete with the boy. But if the schools were mixed then you find that the best girl is competing with the best boy.

Beside giving concessions to girls in admission, the quota system is used to ensure their steady enrolment into coeducation schools. Quotas by definition, according to Martin (1983 cited by Anderson, 1988) challenge the meritocratic ideal, as they allocate places to children who are not otherwise eligible in achievement terms. Davies (1986) cites Gould (1974) who pointed out that such a policy enables favoured groups (boys and high achieving girls) to complain that their legitimate interests are being sacrificed to redress imbalances for which they are not responsible. However, according to Wang (1983 quoted in Anderson 1988), in some cases the attempt to use quotas has had a 'backlash' effect causing other forms of discrimination to exclude the groups that the policies were intended for. In the coeducation schools in Uganda, which were originally designed to accommodate boys, facilities are not enough for the girls. Such schools implement the government policy of setting quotas on girls at 1/3 of student admissions. Such schools will therefore, always be closed to girls although they are meant to increase their

enrolment and the few who are admitted will always be at a disadvantage. One of the female teachers in school 3 observed that:

in this school the girls are just 1/3 of the total school population so that they will remain at a disadvantage, and I think if coeducation is going to work, half the student population should be girls and half should be boys. Then they should be able to compete comfortably. But with the present set up girls feel left out because of their fewer numbers.

The problem in this case is seen largely as a problem of 'numbers' and not boys' or teachers' attitudes to girls relative to academic performance. The solution to such a problem, according to the head teacher of school 3, would be to increase the number of girls by increasing facilities for them.

However, as Anderson (1988) observed, the supply of education is a function of demand for it and the expansion of education does not ensure that access will improve for all groups in society. Some schools admit more than the specified 1/3 of girls depending on the demand for admissions, so that eventually the number of girls is equivalent to or more than that of boys. For instance, the male DEO in Masaka district giving an official picture of the enrolment trend in primary schools at the district level. He stressed that enrolment of pupils is a demand driven exercise whereby the decision to send children to school or not is at household level. He said that:

when it comes to the enrolment of pupils affirmative action is not something that is initiated by the department, it is a demand driven exercise where parents decide to take their children to one school or another. But since the parent has to pay fees, we have not had that stiff competition of limiting enrolment figures, enrolment is open without being aided by any affirmative action policy.

Mickleburgh's (1992) study recommended that in implementing strategies to increase the enrolment of girls, for instance, in secondary schools, quotas should not be considered. The argument behind this recommendation, according to Schultz (1989) and Bellew and King (1993), is that places reserved for girls through the quota scheme would not be filled unless parents believe that educating daughters is in their interests. This is especially so when the demand for male education exceeds supply. In this case quotas that reserve places for girls can usually be circumvented. The head teacher of school 5 confirmed that the enrolment of girls and boys is influenced by the demand for it and not by government policy. He said that:

we admit students on merit, we have not come to a situation where we can say that now we have taken enough number of boys let us admit girls, they have always been coming equally. In this school we have not come to a situation that requires policies for only girls or boys.

This suggests that even if policies were instituted to increase the enrolment of girls, it would depend on the ability of the parents to send girls to school, and the school policy which cannot turn away pupils because of some government policy. For many countries, including Uganda, increasing the number not only of girls in education but boys as well, still looms large. An analysis of head teachers' perceptions of trends in the ratio of girls to boys in total enrolments in the coeducation schools which participated in the study, indicates that individual school policies on admission, relative to academic performance and the ability to pay fees, over ride government policy of affirmative action.

Recruiting more female teachers is one of the measures implemented to increase female enrolment (UN, 1995; Pan-African Congress, 1993), as in some settings socio-religious factors and parents' fear of male teachers impregnating their daughters demand that they must be taught by women (Uwimana 1995; Khan, 1993 and Sanabary, 1993). In developing countries, the literature revealed a strong cultural influence on parents' choice to send daughters to school. Governments face the problem of providing separate schools for girls and recruiting female teachers, especially when female enrolment into teacher training institutions is lower than males'. According to Herz (1991) there is evidence to suggest that a shortage of female teachers can inhibit girls' school attendance, while their presence enhance the enrolment and retention of girls especially at the secondary level. Many organisations concerned with the education of women therefore recommend increasing the number of female teachers in schools. The Pan-African Conference for the Education of Girls (1993:19) observed that:

the presence of female teachers in schools will enhance girls' enrolment and attendance in areas where parents do not wish to send their girls to male teachers. Female teachers will discourage the molestation of girls by male teachers and provide role models.

Anderson (1988, citing Safilios-Rothchild, 1979) acknowledges that while there is evidence showing a correlation between the presence of female teachers and the participation of female students in schools, there is doubt about the causation. Research is not adequate to link the recruitment and placement of female teachers with improved enrolment in schools for girls. Most policies and strategies aim at increasing the number of female teachers to provide role models for girls and to raise their academic attainment. But unless the teachers are trained to be sensitive to gender equity, increasing the number of female teachers may not have the desired

effect on girls' schooling.

Increasing the number of female teachers as a strategy is based on the belief that the 'relationship between the teacher and the girl child can reinforce the traditional stereotype or help the girl-child to develop a new concept of herself' (Pan-African Congress, 1993:13). But that strategy depends on the relationship between the two and sometimes the strategy doesn't work out as expected. Female, unlike male teachers, tend to have negative attitudes towards girls as the girls in school 3 revealed. One girl said that:

there is something between the lady teachers and us girls, because most of them don't appreciate us much. They say "look at you girls, you just come here to look at yourselves in mirrors, but look at the boys, they are working hard", and yet they are supposed to understand us better but they don't. But you find that the male teachers do understand us better and try to help us more.

The relationship between girls and female teachers may be influenced by the extent to which female teachers are aware of how their attitudes to girls and boys puts girls especially at a disadvantage. One female teacher in school 3 said that:

we no longer reprimand girls in front of the boys particularly in regard to their sex "for instance that you girls are very slow etc.". Where as long ago we never used to care about girls, but now we have to weigh what we say to them so that we don't put them down. We no longer bring problems from the girls' end to class and be blamed in the way of "the lady teachers did this or that to us or that the lady teachers are not supportive"

There is evidence to suggest that a negative attitude towards the ability of girls and in some cases towards their right to an education is surprisingly prevalent among teachers in general. Hyde (1993, cited Wondimagegnehu and Tiku, 1988) who reported that in Ethiopia eighteen out of thirty-one teachers interviewed felt that boys were better than girls in all academic subjects.

The paradox of retention.

Anderson's (1988) second dimension for explaining access to education involves participation where enrolment and retention are used interchangeably. Retention within the school system is determined by completion of each grade in one year, which is the best guarantee that a child will complete the primary and secondary cycle. According to Anderson, drop out rates vary in direct proportion to failure rates and the demand for education declines when children experience failure. Drop out rates vary considerably by gender, urban versus rural and social class because of differences in the treatment children receive in school as a function of gender, place

of residence or social class. In countries where most children enter school but many drop out, efforts to improve retention can have more impact on the overall enrolment rate than efforts to increase opportunities for enrolment.

One of the main determinants of retention of pupils in the education system, are school policies, which are not gender free. The paradox of these policies is that while some policies aim at increasing access and enrolment of both boys and girls, others aim at driving out one group or another. According to Assie'-Lumumba (1994), despite reforms, African leaders especially in Franco-phone West Africa often adopted unwittingly policies that discriminate against females. This was partly in response to the Christian tradition and its interpretation of original sin, which forces pregnant primary and secondary school girls to leave school. This policy contributes to parents' initial reluctance to enrol their daughters because, if they do become pregnant, they are not likely to return to school. In Uganda, the head teacher of school 4 revealed his school's policy to combat pregnancies is to send away both the pregnant girls and the boys who are responsible.

Less controversial however, are the discriminatory scholarships for students from poorer homes, although they accord high priority to girls. One of the efforts undertaken by the government and non-governmental organisations in Uganda involves providing incentives and concessions targeting mainly girl children to enrol and remain in schools. These schemes are more evident at the primary level. For instance the female from the DEO's office Masaka said that:

some non-governmental organisations are trying to assist the government to increase the enrolment and retention of girls in schools. There is a new programme partially funded by UNICEF to implement affirmative action. The whole programme is aiming at the 10-14 year olds and as the co-ordinator I have been given directives to see that as much as possible the girl children are the majority of the children who are being assisted with the proceeds from the scheme.

Though such schemes are seen as less discriminatory, in most cases parents choose to send boys to school because there is not enough money to pay school fees for both boys and girls. Therefore any scheme that would favour girls more than boys would be discriminatory, as the male from the DEO's office in Mpigi noted. Parents are sensitised into sending all children to school but the schemes to help with school fees favour fewer boys than girls. Findings from the study revealed that the drop out rate for boys is not any lower than that of girls in Masaka and Mpigi districts. The causes for the high dropout rates are attributed mainly to the economic situation especially

as so many boys leave school to participate in economic generating activities to supplement family incomes. This situation suggests that the decision to send children to school is determined by economic forces at the household level.

When retention and enrolment are used interchangeably, the effect of the curriculum and quality of schooling on female enrolment may be especially strong because parents may insist more on quality before they pay the costs of educating girls (Herz, 1991). In some schools, curricula are overloaded, irrelevant for life in the country concerned, and ineffective at teaching such essentials as mathematics and science. There is evidence based on studies of the curriculum to suggest that the school curricula in many countries is usually heavily biased towards low-paying skills such as knitting, sewing and secretarial work. This shortcoming has a major effect on girls' future employment opportunities as it hinders women's access to better paying jobs. In many countries, according to Herz et al (1991), there is evidence to suggest that women study less mathematics and science than men do, which reflects subtle interaction between traditional attitudes about what women "should study" and the options for study offered to women and girls. The campaign is to get girls into science by making schools offer more science subjects. The benefits would be to widen girls' job prospects in traditional and non-traditional occupations, which would influence parents to finance more education for their daughters.

It was reported in the UN document (1995) that there are some noticeable changes in the curriculum, which includes technical and home management subjects at the middle school levels as common learning areas for boys and girls. It is hoped that these would help to root out gender bias and sexist language, although few countries have made a systematic attempt to change the syllabi and course content or take further measures to foster non-stereotyped gender roles. This strategy is what Byrne (1985) would call positive discrimination (or temporary preferential treatment in Scandinavia) in the curriculum, if both sexes are to catch up in those areas of knowledge and skills in which there are known major sex differences, whether innate or conditioned. Byrne argues that instead of positive discrimination, there should be a core curriculum reform, which addresses the dual role. However, Uganda's problem as far as the curriculum is concerned is not the sexist bias, although that too is important. As findings from the male NCDC revealed, girls do not find the curriculum catering to their felt needs. Therefore the aim is to make the curriculum

interesting enough to be able to retain the interest of girls in schools and therefore within the system of education.

The use of the curriculum as a strategy to increase the retention of both boys and girls in schools follows the realisation by educators particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa that the education of the African child is not in harmony with the local context. It was noted by the participants in the Pan-African Conference for the Education of Girls (1993:11) that:

the potential of the school curriculum in attracting and retaining girls has not been given the attention, which it deserves. Its starting point was an adaptation of western curricula and bore little relevance to the life-style of the children. In learning English the African child's understanding of his or her environment, his or her way of classifying things, of constructing knowledge and of relating to peers and adults were not incorporated into the primary education curriculum. In giving insufficient consideration to the value systems and experiences of the child in the organisation and structure of the curriculum, the school denies the child those constructs which form the building blocks of his/her learning and self identity.

In this regard, African governments were called upon to increase the role of the curriculum in the retention of girls and boys in schools by providing them with courses which would lead to the development of skills useful for them in their future careers. The government position on the curriculum (stated in the EPRCR, 1992:165) is that necessary curricula programmes at secondary level will be developed by the concerned agencies to cater for girls' and women's educational needs within the framework of the national goals of development and objectives of education. At the primary level, the Mpigi male DEO noted that:

In primary schools the curriculum has been vocationalised in that the child is attracted to be in school to learn skills so that when that child goes out of school he or she can use them. Skills learning mainly attracts more boys than girls, for instance carpentry. So if we intensify on the aims of education in the country where vocational education is emphasised I am sure that more boys will be attracted into schools to learn skills which they will use in their after school lives.

While the aim of the curriculum in this case would be to retain children within the system of education, imparting skills through a vocationalised curriculum retains both boys and girls in traditional female/male subject stereotypes. There is a campaign to get girls and boys to cross the traditional subject barriers but the unintended consequence are that children continue to be attracted to vocational subjects, making it difficult for them to pursue academic courses. Therefore in Uganda, where the curriculum is used to increase the retention of girls within the system of education, the strategy needs to include subjects, which will continue to attract boys and girls by reflecting future career prospects.

The central theme of this discussion has centred on the contradictory and paradoxical outcomes of policies implemented to provide equal opportunities in education for boys and girls. These paradoxes revolve around the problems of access, enrolment and retention, which characterise the problem of gender inequality in developing countries including Uganda. Literature revealed that when access and enrolment are used interchangeably, to address girls' problems of access and completion, the solutions are cast in terms of marginal modifications in family behaviours and school offerings. The issue in Uganda is not whether schools are single-sex or coeducation but whether an adequate number of schools exist at all; the range of the curriculum options offered; the availability of trained teachers and the school facilities (library, labs, boarding and cafeteria). In the continuing equal opportunities in education debate, all of these factors are instrumental in attracting children into schools especially when the system of education is open but not free and is controlled by the demand and supply of schools. But this depends on the commitment of the government to institute policies and the key actors in the policy implementation process to translate and implement them. The following chapter highlights the contribution of this study to conceptualising how key players' perceptions of equal opportunities influence the education policy implementation process and how their perceptions could inform studies in gender inequality in education.

Chapter Six

CHAPTER SIX.

Conclusions: Working Towards Gender Parity in Education.

This chapter draws together and focuses the issues and challenges raised by the study and highlights their strategic importance for researchers in gender and education and education policy makers in Uganda. The first two sections highlight the implications for policy makers, implementers and those whom policies target. The final section explores the potential for qualitative research methods for gender and education studies. It is suggested that qualitative research and evaluation methodologies can be both illuminative for those who inform and develop policies, and those who implement policies in education in revealing the theory behind the preference for certain policies in providing equal opportunities in education for boys and girls.

I entered the field with a pre-determined recommendation for a curriculum innovation. It was based on the conviction that inequality in education was a result of society's negative traditional cultural attitudes to gender and education. These attitudes were perceived and confirmed by international and Ugandan literature as the major cause of inequality between girls and boys in the provision of equal opportunities in access, enrolment and retention in the education system. However it was felt essential to find out first the perceptions of the key players on what has been done so far in the provision of equal opportunities in order to give credibility to my recommendation.

Issues to be considered.

Findings from the key players' perceptions on what has been done so far, what role schools should play and whether the proposed subject of Gender Education is desirable and feasible in changing negative cultural attitudes to gender and education revealed that when it comes to providing equal opportunities for boys and girls in the light of what is going on elsewhere, there are certain issues that should be taken into account:

- (a) how people perceive equal opportunities across the different levels of the policy implementation process (those who inform and implement policy at the MoE level; those who implement policy at the district and school levels; and those whom policies target at the classroom level). It may be construed from the

perspective of an outsider of the implementation process (researchers or funding bodies) that little progress has been made to provide equal opportunities and therefore there is a need for more policy recommendations. But from the perspective of the key players, although there are still areas of inequality, a lot has been done;

- (b) from the perspective of those who inform and implement policy, it might be construed that a lot has been done to provide equal opportunities, whereas from the perspective of those whom policies target at the classroom level, very little has been done to reduce gender inequality;
- (c) those key players who implement policies at the MoE, district and school levels have different perceptions of the effect of the policies. For some, Uganda's decision to support affirmative action to benefit girls has resulted in fewer boys going to school and more boys dropping out (this is evident in Mpigi and Masaka districts – see data, appendix 12).

The implication from these findings is that peoples' perceptions of equal opportunities in education are a combination of official views and beliefs and attitudes (this factor doesn't always feature in research reports and recommendations). The data from the standardised open ended elite and group interviews suggests that the same facts from individual respondents combined with their individual and different sets of beliefs give the same view, and both therefore may have the same set of facts. Talking to individuals at the MoE, district and school levels did reveal that there are equal opportunities, but there are differences across the three levels. There is an official version of reality and there is reality based on personal beliefs and experiences so that there may be no resemblance at all between the two versions.

What the interviewees said does not necessarily reflect reality on the ground. To understand whether equal opportunities are provided, or whether proposed subject will change peoples' negative cultural attitudes, there was a need to understand the interaction between both the personal and also the professional views. Teachers have their views as teachers, the government makes policies and their job is to implement them in the end. But the reality in and out of the classroom is that boys do the talking and girls never do. Implementing rigid school rules and regulations designed to protect girls from boys will ensure their retention within the system of education and

thereby increase parents' confidence in coeducation schools. But the reality is that girls are turned into prisoners in their schools and the school atmosphere inhibits both social and academic interaction. People at the MoE level and the funding bodies which recommend coeducation in the school system are not aware of these situations but teachers and the girls and boys who are supposed to benefit from the strategy are. In planning and making policies in equal opportunities, women may have a different position from men, which may be regarded as peculiar to their gender. For instance, women saw equal opportunities as a complex issue requiring a gender specific policy, while the men saw it as a simple issue of, for instance, increasing the number of coeducation schools. Both sexes may not be aware of the possible influence of their sex on their official and unofficial statements. This is one of the areas which feminist research should explore, especially in developing countries where respondents may not be aware of feminist activities.

It is also important to take note of how departments relate to each other, in view of the departmental role specialisation. Findings suggested a lack of a linkage among the key departments. The NCDC is responsible for developing a curriculum which should retain girls in schools. Although the department has a member who sits on the UNEB panel, the centre is not responsible for running the examinations. Similarly UNEB has a representative at the NCDC but the board is not responsible for developing the curriculum to retain girls' interest. Both departments do not communicate with the schools directly but through the MoE. The implied lack of direct linkage between the NCDC/UNEB and schools suggests that, while girls continue to perform poorly compared to the boys, the problem is not with the curriculum or examinations. The CE's office is charged with ensuring increased access and enrolment of boys and girls but not their retention or academic performance. My predetermined recommendation for a curriculum innovation to change peoples' attitudes towards education and gender would not have been considered feasible at the MoE level, because it was not going to increase access, enrolment and retention of girls and boys or to improve their academic performance. Moves towards curriculum innovation in this area are influenced by the ways in which different departments work together in the delivery of education in the country. The lack of linkage is one of the factors that might determine whether equal opportunities in education exist or not. The way in which the different departments

work together at the MoE, district and school level suggests that, whatever the respondents wanted to say, their perceptions were influenced by their formal role positions.

Challenges to be considered.

It is essential to gain a phenomenological view of the immediate day-to-day contexts in which key players operate, so that reasonable interpretations can be placed on their responses to policy recommendations and strategies. Findings from the data at the secondary school level revealed that perceptions of equal opportunities were relative to the type of school, single sex or coeducation. Perceptions also differed between the implementers and those whom policies target, and between males and females. For example head teachers' perceptions varied in terms of creating conditions for:

- not distinguishing between boys and girls (coeducation day school 4);
- educating girls to assist their parents (coeducation boarding school 5).

The pupils whom such opportunities should benefit have got their own interpretation of equal opportunities such as:

- boys and teachers giving girls the chance to participate in classroom activities (girls, school 4);
- enabling literate men to marry literate wives, women doing jobs not suitable for men and women to use their talents effectively (boys, school 5).

These perceptions are hardly considered by researchers and funding bodies and, in the light of these differences relative to nationally and internationally recommended policies in education several questions are raised:

- (a) How far can and should developing countries adopt and adapt western models to solve problems, which are peculiar to them?
- (b) How far can researchers control people in order to further research ambitions and promote pre-determined policy recommendations?
- (c) How far can research change girls and boys to take advantage of the recommended policies in the light of their head teachers' and teachers' and their own perceptions of equal opportunities in education?

Instead researchers and funding bodies should adopt a 'bottom-up' approach and start at the lowest common denominator by asking questions like:

- What does the policy target group want?

- How do key players' perceptions contribute to the policy formulation and implementation process?
- What power bases do the key players operate from?
- What are the key players' common needs and what might be their different objectives and requirements from policies?
- What kind of equal opportunities model would enable the answers to these questions to be logged and projected into a continuous dialogue with the overall objectives for an education system?

Affirmative action programmes have helped to stimulate girls' access to education and enrolment but have, at the same time, resulted both in their discrimination, and in putting boys at a disadvantage which is observed in lower enrolment and retention rates compared to girls in Masaka and Mpigi districts. It is hoped that future research could enable educational policies at the national and school level to become not just girl friendly but girl and boy friendly. Failure to address such questions may result in the implementation of paradoxical and contradictory policies which, instead of advantaging girls, may instead put them at a disadvantage and discriminate against boys. Therefore the dilemma faced by the government in increasing access, enrolment and retention of boys and girls is between implementing policies that will benefit one group, but discriminate against the other group; and implementing policies to benefit all which may, in reality, put all the supposed beneficiaries at a disadvantage. It is also hoped that lessons can be drawn from such paradoxical outcomes of policies which might provide guidance for other developing countries' governments, as they seek to implement pre-determined agendas of equal opportunities policies to increase access, enrolment and retention within the school system.

The potential for qualitative research for gender studies in developing countries.

According to Vulliamy (1990), one of the major strengths of qualitative research in assessing the impact of an educational innovation is that, by focusing on the actual processes of the innovation it can identify unintended consequences. These unintended consequences were in this study manifested in the paradoxes and contradictions, which were identified in the research. An analysis of any education system or sub-system involves time, patience, ongoing discussions and interpretation, based on both external perspective and internal understanding of the

situation. But according to Watson, (1994 cited by Crossley and Vulliamy, 1996:440), too many World Bank, UNESCO and other aid agencies influential reports lack this 'internal' understanding dimension. I went into the field with a predetermined research agenda as do so many researchers and funding bodies. Using a positivist research paradigm would have revealed that the predetermined recommendation for a curriculum innovation was not desirable and feasible without explaining why. Or it might have been revealed that a curriculum innovation was desirable and feasible in changing peoples' negative traditional cultural attitudes to gender and education to increase access, enrolment and retention for both boys and girls without giving reasons. Using a phenomenological critical analysis revealed that, while a new curriculum innovation may be desirable from the perspective of some people, it would not be feasible in retaining the interest of girls within the school system. Nor would it work in the present examination system, because changes in attitudes are difficult to examine in a normal examination. The curriculum is over crowded, a new innovation would not only have to be integrated across the present curriculum, but, it would be an extra burden on the pupils among whom the emphasis is on passing exams not changing attitudes.

Crossley and Vulliamy (1996:443) argued that:

the main strengths of qualitative research in education are its high ecological validity derived from research in natural settings, its appropriateness for the study of the processes of educational innovations, especially focusing on the unanticipated consequences of change, its emphasis upon the chalk-face realities of schooling with studies of classroom processes and teachers' and students' perspectives, its ability to probe the policy/practice interface and thus inform policy makers, and its usefulness in supplementing quantitative research by adding depth to breadth.

These characteristics applied in this study, leading to the conclusion that, before recommending policies in education, researchers and funding bodies should proceed to the field without pre-determined policy agendas. They should aim to become familiar with how gender inequality in education in developing countries is produced both historically and from day-to-day. There is also need to listen more to the policy-targeted group. By starting from the assumption that girls and boys are a problem, researchers have been led into looking at them as research objects. They have concentrated on the 'behavioural and attitudinal' aspects of boys as determinants of girls' academic disadvantages. Approaching girls and boys as agents who can be asked what they think and feel about equal opportunities in education makes more sense if researchers want to understand how they experience and take advantage of

the opportunities provided to them; and the different ways of implementing equal opportunities policies; and how or why they are compatible (or not) with being a girl or boy. This can help to avoid falling into the trap of concluding that equal opportunities policies make a difference in access, enrolment and retention for girls within the system of education. Or that it is only a misunderstanding of girls themselves that they do not receive the same opportunities as boys, because of boys' and teachers' attitudes and behaviours towards them.

The role of funding bodies in issues concerning education, particularly in developing countries, has been widely acknowledged in literature elsewhere. While the work funding bodies are doing is commendable, there are arguments against their pursuit of a pre-determined policy agenda. Kinyanjui (1996:287) argues that donor and international organisations have taken a number of initiatives which have highlighted not only critical issues in the development of education in Africa, but also indicated possible solutions and strategies for their implementation. Their dominance is therefore not only felt in the field of production of data and knowledge, but also its utilisation in policy formulation and in the development process as a whole. Policies are predetermined, following short-term western economic oriented models which emphasise access, enrolment and retention and do not therefore take into account developing countries' socio-cultural and monetary resources scarcity models. The result is that recommending the development of Gender Education as a subject on the school curriculum to change peoples' cultural attitudes will be rejected on the grounds that it will not have a direct short-term effect increasing access, enrolment and retention.

According to Kinyanjui (1996) the dominance of funding agencies in the articulation of priority issues, funding of the required research and in the formulation of policies consequent to this work, and on the whole of the critical underpinnings which guide an initiative like this, tend to marginalise African researchers and policy makers. In Uganda, pre-determined policy agendas have resulted in enacting gender specific policies in education, which has resulted in placing the girl child on the political agenda. This suggests that it is a girls' and not boys' problem. However, findings at the district level revealed that more girls than boys especially in rural areas enrol in school. This implies that there is a boys' problem. While it is not currently given enough attention, in years to come it will be an even bigger problem. Findings from

the boys also revealed that, in one way or another, girls' attitudes towards themselves and their classroom behaviour determined their disadvantaged position. This is an area which has not been explored in research and which researchers might pursue to explain gender inequality in the classroom. While economic recovery in which funding bodies are more interested is vital in dealing with the educational problems which exist in Uganda and in many developing countries, the solution cannot be found without critical appraisal of the role of the funding bodies and researchers relative to the role of the state and the contribution of key players in the educational policy formulation and implementation processes.

References

References.

- Action Aid (Uganda) (1993) **Uganda Women Poverty Analysis: Women and Poverty.** Country Strategy Paper. Kampala.
- Action for Development (1991) **The Problem of School-Girl Drop-out in Upper Primary Classes in Uganda: The Case of Kampala and Mubende Districts.** Financed by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.
- Anderson, M.B. (1988) **Improving Access to Schooling in the Third world: An Overview.** Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University (Basic Research and Implementation in Developing Education systems) March 1988 No.1 Bridges Research Report Series.
- Arnesen, A.L. and Charthaigh, D.N. (1992) **Pathways to Change: Gender and Curriculum Development in Teacher Education.** Sheffield: Pavic (Series on equal opportunities and the teacher education in Europe) Vol. 1
- Arnot, M. (1992) **Feminism, Education and the New Right** in M. Arnot and L. Barton (eds) **Voicing concerns: Sociological perspectives on Contemporary Education Reforms.** Willingford: Cambridge University Press. Triangle books Ltd.
- Assie'-Lumumba, N.T. (1994) **Women's Education, History of: Franco-phone Countries in International Encyclopaedia of Education.** (2nd edition) Vol. 11 Exeter: BPC Wheatonsb Ltd and Pergamon pp. 6735-6741.
- Atkinson, P., Delamont, S. and Hammersley, M. (1993) **Qualitative Research traditions** In M. Hammersley (ed) **Educational Research: Current Issues.** London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd. In association with the Open University.
- Baguma, W.K. (1995) **Women's Low Levels of Education as a Setback to Rural Agricultural Production: A Case Study of Ibanda County, Mbarara District.** BA (SWASA) (unpublished thesis) Kampala: Makerere University.
- Barker, B. (1997) **Girls' World or Anxious Times: what's really happening at school in the gender war?** *Educational Review.* Vol.49, No.3, 1997 pp. 221-227.
- Bellew, R.T. and King, Em (1993) **Educating Women: Lessons from Experience** in E.M. King and A. Hill (1993) **Women's Education in Developing Countries:**

- Barriers, Benefits and Policies.** A World Bank Book. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press for the World Bank.
- Bogdan, R. and Biklen, S. (1992, 2nd edition) **Qualitative Research in Education: an Introduction to Theory and Methods.** Boston, Mass: Allyn and Bacon.
- Borg, W.R. and Gall, M.D. (1989, 5th edition) **Educational Research: an Introduction.** New York: Longman.
- Bowman M.J. and Anderson, A.C. (1982) The Participation of Women in Education in the Third World in G. Kelly, and C. Elliot, (Eds.) (1982) **Women's Education in the Third World: Comparative Perspectives.** Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Burgess, R. (ed) (1985) **Strategies for Education Research: Qualitative Methods.** London: The Falmer Press.
- Burgess, R. G. (1989) Grey Areas: Ethical Dilemmas in Educational Ethnography In R.G. Burgess (ed) **The Ethics of Educational Research.** New York: The Falmer Press.
- Bustillo, I (1993) Latin America and the Caribbean. In E. King and A. Hill (1993) **Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies.** A World Bank Book. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press for the World Bank.
- Byrne, E. (1985) Equality or Equity?: A European Overview in M. Arnot (ed.) (1985) **Race and Gender: Equal Opportunities Policies in Education.** Oxford: Pergamon in association with the Open University Press.
- Carey, M.A. (1994) The Group Effect in Focus Groups: Planning, Implementing and Interpreting Focus Group Research. In M.J. Morse (ed) **Critical Issues in qualitative Research Methods.** London: Sage Publications.
- Canadian International Development Agency (1989) **Women in Development: A Sectoral Perspective** Kampala.
- Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P. (1996) **Making Sense of Qualitative Data: complementary research strategies.** London: Sage Publication.
- Cole, M. (1989) Class, Gender and Race: From Theory to Practice in M. Cole (ed.) **Education for Equality: Some Guidelines for Good Practice.** London: Routledge.

- Crossley, M. and Vulliamy, G. (1996) Issues and Trends in Qualitative Research: Potential for Developing Countries in *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 439-448.
- Crossley, M., Vulliamy, G. (eds) (1997) *Qualitative Educational Research in Developing Countries*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Davies, B. (1994) Gender Theories in Education in the *International Encyclopaedia in Education*. (2nd edition) vol. 5 Exeter: BPC Wheaton Ltd and Pergamon pp. 2453-2458.
- Davis L. (1986) Policies on Inequality in the Third world: Dependence or Autonomy? in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol.7. No. 2, pp. 191-203.
- Denzin, N.K. (1994) Evaluating Qualitative Research in the Post Structural Movement: The Lessons that James Joyce Teaches Us. in *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*. Vol.7 No. 4, pp. 295-298.
- Directorate of Gender (1995) *The girl Child in Uganda: a Situation Analysis*. A Desk Review Commissioned by the Ministry of Gender and Community Development. Kampala.
- Drever, E. (1995) *Using Semi-Structured Interviews in Small-scale Research: a Teachers' Guide*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Council for Research in Education (practitioner mini paper).
- Eichler, M. (1988) *Non Sexist Research Methods: a Practical Guide*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.
- Erwin, L. and Stewart, P. (1997) Gendered perspectives: a focus-group study of how undergraduate women negotiate their career aspirations in *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*. Vol. 10 no. 2 April-June pp. 207-220.
- Fagerlind, I. and Saha, L. J. (1989) *Education and National Development: A Comparative Perspective*. (2nd edition) Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Finch, J. (1986) *Research and Policy: the Uses of Qualitative Methods and Educational Research*. London: The Falmer press.
- Finn, J.D., Reis, J. and Dulberg, L. (1982) Sex Differences in Educational Attainment: The Process. In Kelly G.P. and Elliot, C.M (eds) *Women's Education in the Third World: Comparative Perspectives*. Albany: University of New York Press.

- Fontana, A and Frey, J.H. (1994) **Interviewing: The Art of Science** in N.K Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds) (1994) **Handbook for Qualitative Research**. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage publication.
- Forum for African Women Educationists (1996) **The Education of Girls and women in Africa**. Nairobi.
- Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.s. (1967) **The Discovery of Grounded Theory**. Chicago: Aldine.
- Grant, A C (1989) **Equity, Equality, Teachers and Class room Life**. In G. W. Secada (ed.) (1989) **Equity in Education**. London: The Falmer Press:.
- Green, A. G. (1989). **Equal Opportunities in the Curriculum: The Case of Home Economics**. **Gender and Education**. Vol. 2 no. 2 pp. 139-153.
- Guba, E.G., and Lincoln, Y.S. (1994) **Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research**. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds) (1994) **Handbook of Qualitative Research**. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Hammersley, M and Atkinson, P. (1983) **Ethnography: Principles in Practice**. London: Tavistock.
- Hammersley, M. (1992) **What's wrong with Ethnography?** London: Routledge.
- Hertz, B., Subbarao, K., Masooma, H., Ranney, L. (1991) **Letting girls Learn: Promising Approaches in Primary and secondary Education**. World Bank Discussion Papers no. 133. Washington D. C: The World Bank publishing.
- Hyde, K (1993) **Improving Women's Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of the Literature**. In E. King and A. Hill (1993) **Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies**. A World Bank Book. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press for the World Bank.
- Kabiru Kinyanjui (1994) **African Education: Dilemmas, Challenges and Opportunities** in Himmelstrand, U., Kabiru Kinyanjui and Mburugu, E. (eds) **African Perspectives on Development**. Nairobi: East African Publishing.
- Kabuzi, R. (1987) **Status and Condition of women in Uganda**. Bachelor of Laws (unpublished) Kampala: Makerere University.
- Kane, E. (1987) **Doing your own Research: how to do Basic Descriptive Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities**. London: Marion Boyars.
- Keegan, J. and Powney, J. (1987) **Conversations with an interviewer: Group interviews concerning parents' information needs about schools** in J. Powney

and M. Watts **Interviewing in Educational Research**. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Kelly, G. and Elliot, C. (Eds.) (1982) **Women's Education in the Third World: Comparative Perspectives**. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Kelly, G.P. (1987) Setting State Policy on Women's Education in the Third World: Perspectives from Comparative Research. **Comparative Education** Vol. 23 No.1 pp95-102.

Kelly, L., Burton, S., Regan, L. (1994) Researching Women's Lives or Studying Women's Oppression? Reflections on what constitutes feminist research in M. Maynard and J. Purvis (eds) **Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective**. London: Sage publications.

Khan S. R. (1993) South Asia in E. King and A. Hill (1993) **Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies**. A World Bank Book. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press for the World Bank.

King, E. and Hill, A. (1993) **Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies**. A World Bank Book. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press for the World Bank.

King, E.M. (1994) Gender and Education Choices, Economics of: n **International Encyclopaedia in Education**. (2nd edition) vol. 4 Exeter: BPC Wheaton Ltd and Pergamon pp. 2412-2419.

Kisa, S. (1991) **Gender and School-type differences in Mathematics Achievement of Senior Three Pupils in Central Uganda**. M.Ed. Thesis (unpublished) Kampala: Makerere University.

Kruse, A.M. (1996) Single Sex Settings: Pedagogies for Girls and Boys in Danish Schools In Murphy, P. and C.V. Gipps (eds) **Equity in the Classroom. Towards Effective Pedagogy for girls and Boys**. London: The Falmer Press and UNESCO Publishing.

Kwesiga, J.C. (1993) Access of Women to Higher Education in Uganda: An Analysis of Inequalities, Barriers and Determinants. PhD thesis. Institute of Education. University of London.

Lahelma, E. (1993) **Policies of Gender and Equal Opportunities in Curriculum Development: Discussing the situation in Finland and Britain**. Research Bulletin 85 University of Helsinki.

- LePorre, P.C. (1997) A comparison of Single Sex and Coeducational Catholic Secondary Schooling: Evidence from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 in **American Educational Research Journal** Fall, Vol. 34, pp. 485-511.
- Limerick, B., Burgess-Limerick, J., Grace, M. (1996) The Politics of Interviewing: power relations and accepting the gift in **International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education**. Vol. 9 no. 4 Oct-Dec pp. 449-460.
- Lincoln, Y.S. and Guba, E.G. (1985) **Naturalistic Inquiry**. Beverly Hills CA: Sage.
- Lofland, J. and Lofland, L.H. (1984, 2nd edition) **Analysing social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observations and Analysis** Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co.
- Maguire, M. and Ball S.J. (1994) Researching politics and the politics of research: recent qualitative studies in the UK in **Qualitative Studies in Education**, 1994, vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 269-285.
- Mahony, P. (1985) **Schools for the Boys? Coeducation Reassessed**. London: Hutchinson in association with the Explorations in Feminism Collective.
- Manger, T. and Gjestad, R. (1997) Gender Differences in Mathematics Achievement Related to the Ratio of Girls to Boys In School Classes. **International Review of Education** vol. 43 No. 2/3: pp. 193-201.
- Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. (1995, 2nd edition) **Designing Qualitative Research**. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Maxwell, J.A. (1996) **Qualitative Research Design: an Interactive Approach**. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Maykut, P. and Morehouse, R. (1994) **Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophic and Practical Guide**. London: The Falmer Press.
- Maynard, M. And Purvis, J. (Ed) (1994) **Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective**. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Measor, L (1985) Interviewing: A Strategy in Qualitative Research in R. Burgess (ed) (1985) **Strategies of Educational Research: Qualitative Methods**. London: The Falmer Press.
- Mickleburgh, A. (1992) School Related Factors Affecting the Participation and Achievement in Primary and Secondary Schools in Zimbabwe since 1980. M. Phil Thesis, University of Sussex.

- Miles M.B. and Huberman, A.M. (1994, 2nd edition) **Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Source Book** Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Ministry of Education and Sports (1993) **Report of the Sectoral Working Committee on Gender Oriented Policy**. Kampala. 320.EDU
- Ministry of Education and Sports (1992) **Uganda White Paper on the Education Policy Review commission Report. Education for National Integration and Development**. Kampala.
- Morse, J.M. (1994) **Designing Funded Qualitative Research**. in N.K., Denzin and Y.s. Lincoln (eds) (1994) **Handbook for Qualitative Research**. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage publications.
- Mugenyi, M.R. (1992) **Structural Adjustment Programmes on Uganda Rural Women in the 1980s: Prospects for Empowerment in the Decade**. Sponsored by the Canadian Bureau for International Education.
- Murphy, P. and Gipps, C.V. (eds) (1996) **Equity in the classroom. Towards Effective Pedagogy for Girls and boys** London: The Falmer Press and UNESCO Publishing.
- Mwaka, V. M., Mugenyi, M. and Banya, G. (1994) **Women in Uganda: a Profile**. Research Report sponsored by the Royal Netherlands Embassy Kampala.
- Mwansa, D.M. (1996) **Perspectives on Issues of Motivation and Gender in Zambian Literacy Programmes in Qualitative Studies in Education**. Vol.19 No.2 pp. 181-199.
- Nagat El Sanabary (1993) **Middle East and North Africa**. In E. King and A. Hill (eds) **Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies**. A World Bank Book. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press for the World Bank.
- Nakkazi, A. (ed.) (1981) **The Development of Education in Uganda 1978-1980: A Report to the 38th Session of the International Conference on Education**. Geneva. Nov. Kampala: Uganda National Commission for UNESCO Ministry of Education.
- Nalwanga-Sebina, A.J. and Natukunda E.R. (1988) **Uganda Women's Needs Assessment Survey**. Kampala.
- Ngesi, N. J. (1994) **The Position of Women in the Teaching Force in Black Schools in South Africa**. Forum for Education. **Journal of the Student - Staff Forum**. School of Education, University of Bristol pp.51-56.

- Nielsen, A.A. and Boysen, L. (1992) **Democratic Teaching Process and Equal Opportunity** in P. Boulton , L. Cohen, J. Coldon and H. Bovey (eds.) (1992) **Ways and Meaning: Gender, Process and Teacher Education**. Sheffield: Pavic.
- Ntagali, H. D. (1992) **Gender Bias and Science Education in Uganda: A Comparative Study**. M.Ed. Dissertation (unpublished) University of Bristol.
- Pan-African Conference on the Education of Girls (1993) **The Education of Girls: The Ouagadougou Declaration and Framework for Action**. Organised under UNESCO's Priority Africa Programme and the UNESCO/UNICEF Joint Committee on Education in Corporation with the Government of Burkina Faso 28 March-1 April.
- Parker, H.L. and Rennie, L.J. (1997) **Teachers' Perceptions of the Implementation of Single Sex Classes in Coeducation Schools in Australian Journal of Education**. Vol41, No. 2, pp. 119-123
- Patton, M.Q. (1987) **How to Use Qualitative Methods in Education**. Newbury Park: Sage publications Inc.
- Patton, M.Q. (1990, 2nd edition) **Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods** Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Power, S., Whitty, G., Edwards, T. and Wigfall, V. (1998) **Schoolboys and schoolwork: gender identification and academic achievement in International Journal of Inclusive Education**. Vol.2, Issue 2, pp. 1-19.
- Pratt, B. and Loizos, P. (1992) **Choosing Research Methods: Data Collection for Development Workers**. Development Guidelines no.7 Oxford: Oxfam Print Unit.
- Rollason, V. (1988) **Equal Opportunities or Justice for All**, in P. Preece and F. Macleod (eds.) (1988) **Gender and Education: Perspectives 38**. School of Education. University of Exeter.
- Russel, B.H. (1994, 2nd edition) **Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches**. London: Sage Publications.
- Sanders, J. (1989) **Equity and Teaching in Education: An Applied Researcher Talks to the Theoreticians** in G.W. Secada (ed) **Equity in Education**. London: The Falmer Press.
- Schultz, P. (1993) **Public Investment in Women's Schooling**. **The Forum for Advancing Basic Education and Literacy** vol. 3 issue 1 pp.9.

- Scott, S. (1985) **Feminist Research and Qualitative Methods: A Discussion of Some of the Issues.** In R. Burgess (ed) **Issues in Educational Research: Qualitative Methods.** London: The Falmer Press.
- SCPR Technical Manual Series (1973) **Depth Interviews and Group Discussions.**
- Secada, W. G. (1989) **Educational Equity Versus Equality of Education** in G. W. Secada (ed.) (1989) **Equity in Education.** London: The Falmer Press.
- Smock, A.C. (1981) **Women's Education in Developing Countries: Opportunities and Outcomes.** New York: Praegar Publishers.
- Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1983) **Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research.** London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Stanworth, M. (1983) **Gender and Schooling. A Study of Sexual Divisions in the Classroom.** London: Hutchinson in association with the Explorations in Feminism Collective.
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) **Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques.** Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Stromquist, N. P. (1994) **Gender and Education in the International Encyclopaedia of Education** (2nd edition) vol. 4 Exeter: BPC Wheaton Ltd and Pergamon pp. 2407-2412.
- Stromquist, N.P. (1995) **Romancing the State: Gender and Power in Education in Comparative Review of Education.** Vol. 39, No. 4 November pp. 423-455.
- Uganda Education Commission (UEC) (1963) **Education in Uganda: the report of the Uganda Education Commission.** (Chairman E.B. Castle) Entebbe: Government Printers.
- United States Aid and International Development (1992) **Concepts, Tools and Applications for Considering Gender in Development** Kampala
- Uwimana, D. (1995) **Factors Contributing to Low Education Performance Among Girls: Case Study Kisoro District.** BA. (Sociology) (unpublished) Makerere University.
- Vaughn, S., Schumm, J.S. and Sinagub, J. (1996) **Focus Group Interviews in Education and Psychology.** Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Verspoor, A.M. (1990) **Accelerated Educational Development. Education and Employment Division, Population and Human Resources.** Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

- Vulliamy, G. (1990) How Can Qualitative Research Contribute to Educational Policy Making in Developing Countries? In **International Journal of Educational Development**. Vol. 10. No. 2/2, pp. 151-156.
- Vulliamy, G., Llewlin, K. and Stephens, D. (1990) **Doing Educational Research in Developing Countries: Qualitative Strategies**. London: The Falmer press.
- Weiner, G. (1994) **Feminisms in Education: An Introduction**. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Wilson, M. (ed.) (1991) **Girls and Young Women in Education: A European Perspective**. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Wolpe, A.M. (1988) **Within School Walls: The Role of Discipline, Sexuality and the Curriculum**. London: Routledge.
- Womald, E. Crossley, A. (1988) **Women in Education in Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific**. . Waigani, Papua New Guinea: University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- World Bank (1993) **Uganda: Growing Out of Poverty**. A World Bank Country Study. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- World Bank (1993) **Uganda: Social Sectors**. A World Bank Country Study. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Yin, R.K. (1984) **Case Study Research: Design and Methods**. Berverly Hills: Sage Publications.

APPENDICES.

Appendix 1. Table 1.1 (a): National level Enrolment in Government Aided Primary schools by Class: 1983-1995 (thousands).

Class	'83	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95
P.1	413	450	495	524	553	583	631	556	614	553	592	569	673
P.2	321	356	395	407	425	444	467	415	457	411	424	394	453
P.3	285	320	344	368	384	401	416	380	437	392	631	378	432
P.4	220	256	280	300	313	326	337	308	357	336	337	323	354
P.5	181	205	227	245	257	269	278	254	292	272	290	265	300
P.6	164	181	199	199	211	224	233	207	236	220	224	212	237
P.7	145	162	177	162	166	170	171	162	183	178	176	165	179
TOTAL	1,729	1,931	2,117	2,205	2,309	2,417	2,553	2,282	2,576	2,362	2,674	2,305	2,636
% Female	43.5	43.5	44.0	45.0	45.0	44.0	45.0	44.4	44.8	44.1	44.2	45.6	45.4

Source: Education Planning Unit, Ministry of Education and Sports: Education Statistical Abstract 1994, 1995.

Table 1.1 (b): National level Enrolment in Government Aided Secondary schools by class: 1983-1995 (thousands).

Class	'83	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95
S.1	37	46	48	56	64	64	63	56	46	61	60	47	68
S.2	31	36	41	52	59	59	61	55	40	55	56	43	61
S.3	23	29	30	41	46	53	51	51	35	49	50	40	53
S.4	17	22	28	31	35	43	41	41	29	43	42	33	47
S.5	5	6	7	9	10	10	11	10	8	9	12	10	13
S.6	5	5	6	8	9	10	11	11	7	7	11	9	13
TOTAL	118	144	160	197	223	239	238	224	165	224	231	183	255
% Female	35.5	32.7	33.0	35.0	33.0	34.0	38.0	36.6	37.7	30.7	39.0	38.2	39.0

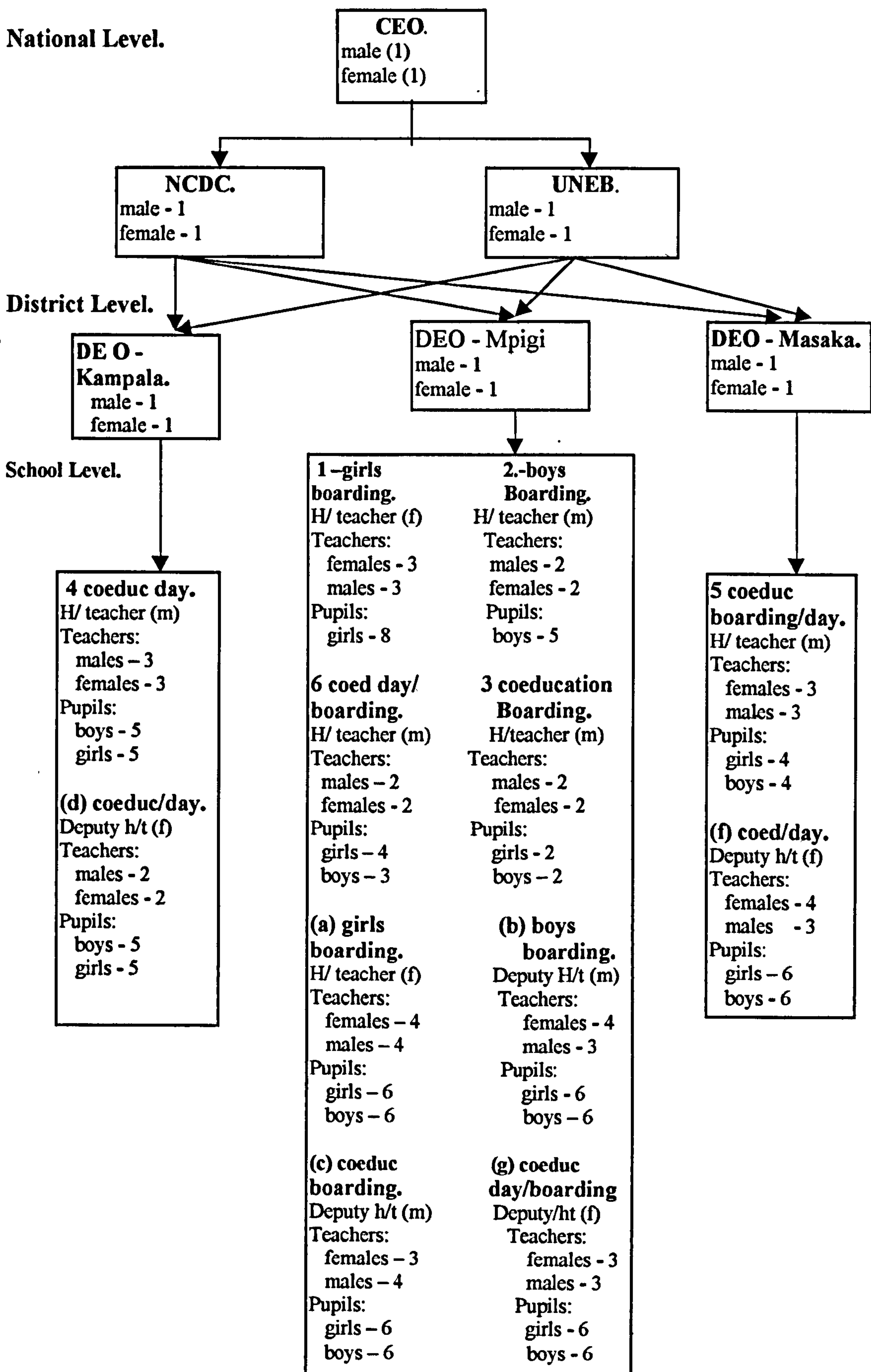
Source: Education Planning Unit, Ministry of Education and Sports: Educational Statistical Abstract 1994, 1995.

Coverage: Tables in the above abstract give population estimates for Uganda by district for primary and secondary schools. The estimates were derived using data

from responding schools [Government-aided primary schools 83% response, Government-aided secondary schools 82%]. Where data was missing, district means were substituted, so that the figures represent an estimate of the total population. Because of the estimating procedure annual totals may vary slightly from year to year. Estimates from order of response can be taken to be reliable. The data presented here is from government-aided primary and secondary schools, which responded to the educational abstracts. According to the Educational Planning Unit, Ministry of Education and Sports, there is usually a very low response from private schools and some districts do not always respond to educational censuses so data from previous years where available is used. The data presented covers only those variables that are intended to fulfil particular goals and may therefore be different from previous and future Education Statistical Abstracts. Or it may be an update of previous educational statistical abstracts.

According to the Ministry of Education and Sports Statistical Abstract (1994) a total of 2,496,139 pupils was reported with 92.4% being in government aided primary schools and 7.6% in private schools. The highest enrolment is in primary one while the least is in primary seven with the majority of them being boys. The proportion of girls reduced from 47.5% in P.1 to 40% in P.7. At the secondary school level, a total of 230,119 students was reported in both government aided and private schools of which 20.5% were in private and 79.5% in government aided schools. The majority of students were in S.1 and the least in S.6. The proportion of female students declined from 41.3% in S.1 to 30.7% in S.6 as opposed to that of male students, which increased from 58.7% in S.1 to 69.3% in S.6.

Appendix 2. Figure 3.1: Categories of people at each level.



Appendix 3: Table 3.1 (a): District level Enrolment in Government-aided primary schools by class, gender, and district 1994, 1995 (thousands).

Dist'ct	P.1	P.2	P.3	P.4	P.5	P.6	P.7	Total
K'la M	5,052	5,479	5,693	4,868	4,832	4,955	3,856	34,735
'94 F	5,233	5,425	5,970	5,577	5,540	4,467	3,951	36,163
'95 M	5,261	5,174	5,422	4,966	4,302	4,171	3,351	32,647
F	5,576	5,654	5,965	5,502	5,034	4,749	3,693	36,172
Msk M	10,150	8,050	7,716	6,672	5,163	4,155	3,049	44,955
'94 F	9,692	7,959	7,582	6,572	5,847	4,821	3,483	45,956
'95 M	10,681	8,230	8,012	6,942	5,627	4,549	2,864	46,905
F	10,713	8,199	8,225	7,247	6,075	5,105	3,685	49,248
Mpg M	13,129	10,078	10,510	9,449	8,125	7,213	5,649	64,153
'94 F	12,514	9,783	10,581	9,889	8,751	7,800	5,932	65,250
'95 M	15,169	11,533	12,028	10,402	8,975	7,668	5,895	71,670
F	15,374	11,858	12,716	11,101	9,896	8,589	6,424	75,958

Source: Education Planning Unit, Ministry of Education and sports: Education Statistics Abstract 1994, 1995.

Table 3.1 (b): District level enrolment in government-aided secondary schools by class, gender and district (thousands).

Dist'ct	S.1	S.2	S.3	S.4	S.5	S.6	Total
K'la M	1,448	1,459	1,343	1,244	786	741	7,021
'94 F	1,174	1,204	1,170	969	436	402	5,355
'95 M	2,009	2,053	2,094	1,799	1,095	995	10,045
F	1,584	1,750	1,554	1,499	627	580	7,594
Msk M	896	822	686	564	973	242	4,147
'94 F	689	544	457	399	75	58	2,222
'95 M	1,262	958	896	839	284	347	4,586
F	1,070	856	690	641	141	151	3,549
Mpgi M	912	790	690	570	228	226	3,416
'94 F	1,405	1,247	1,157	914	397	344	5,464
'95 M	2,037	1,677	1,539	1,316	683	562	7,814
F	2,428	2,129	1,799	1,565	747	494	9,162

Source: Education Planning Unit, Ministry of Education and Sports: Education Statistics Abstract 1994, 1995.

K'la: Kampala district

Msk: Masaka district

Mpgi: Mpigi district

According to the Ministry of Education and Sports Education statistics abstracts (1995:12) at the primary school level:

- Enrolment in all classes is higher in males than in females

- A bigger difference in enrolment is experienced between P.1-P.2 in both males and females
- The enrolment from P.2 to P. 7 decreases uniformly for both males and females.

At the secondary school level, the Ministry of education statistics abstract (1995:41) indicate that:

- Enrolment figures for both boys and girls drop significantly after each class
- The enrolment of girls is less than that of boys.

However, as figures for the individual districts which participated in the study in tables 3.1 (a) and (b) indicate that:

- At the primary school level there are more girls than boys enrolling in schools
- At the secondary school level, while there are more boys enrolling in school in Kampala and Masaka districts in all the classes, this data cannot be generalised to Mpigi district where on the whole there is higher enrolment for boys than for girls. Therefore Mpigi district shows a bigger problem in the enrolment of boys than girls.

Appendix 4: The standardised open-ended elite and group interview schedules.

Interview schedule for respondents in the Commissioner for education's (CE) office
Question 1: What has been done so far from the perceptions of key players, in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As a person involved in informing, making and implementing policies in education, what are your feelings about the policies and strategies which are implemented to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?
- (ii) Current research suggests that boys have more opportunities in education than girls. What is your response to these findings?
- (iii) How far do you think providing equal opportunities in education for boys and girls in education would create problems? What are they?
- (iv) As a person involved in informing, making and implementing policies in education in what ways are you expected to take gender into account during the policy making and implementation process?
- (v) How have issues of equal opportunities been addressed in the Ugandan educational policy and at what level?
- (vi) Why do you think equity and equality are important issues in education policy making and implementation for boys and girls?

Question 2: In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender, what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As a person who informs, makes and implements policies in education, what part do you think schools should play in providing equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?
- (ii) Why do you think schools should play this part?
- (iii) In your opinion, what strategies would you expect schools to use to provide equal opportunities in education?
- (iv) What plans have you been involved in drawing up, to help schools play a part in providing equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?

- (v) How do you monitor the results of these plans?
- (vi) As a policy informer, maker and implementer, how do you think the part that schools should play in addressing issues of gender and equal opportunities in education ties in with Uganda's traditional cultural attitudes to gender?

Interview schedule for respondents in the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC).

Question 1: What has been done so far from the perceptions of key players in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As a person involved in developing the curriculum, how do you feel about equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?
- (ii) Current research suggests that boys and girls do not have equal educational opportunities, what is your response to these findings?
- (iii) In your work and experience as a curriculum developer, what issues are you aware of concerning equal opportunities in education among boys and girls?
- (iv) As a curriculum how far are you expected to take gender into account when you are developing a curriculum? Has this increased in the last decade?
- (v) How have issues of equal opportunities been addressed in curriculum development and at what level?
- (vi) Why do you think equity and equality are important issues in curriculum development and implementation of policies in education for boys and girls?

Question 2: In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender, what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As a curriculum developer, what issues concerning gender and equal opportunities in education in schools are normally considered when developing or modifying a curriculum?
- (ii) Why in your view should these issues be included in the school curriculum?
- (iii) What methods are normally prescribed for schools to use in addressing issues of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?
- (iv) How far do you think issues of equal opportunities in schools tie in with Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender?

Interview Schedule for respondents in the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB).

Question 1: What has been done so far from the perceptions of key players, in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Specific research questions.

- (i) past experience and records indicate that there is a problem resulting from the difference in academic performance between boys and girls. What is your opinion about this problem?
- (ii) How in your view does the absence of equal opportunities in education affect levels of academic performance particularly in examinations?
- (iii) As an examinations official, how do you feel about equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?
- (iv) As an examinations how far are you expected to take gender into account during the process of setting examinations?
- (v) Why do you think equity and equality are important issues in setting examination and in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Question 2: In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender, what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?

Specific research questions.

- (i) What particular issues concerning gender and equal opportunities in education are considered when setting examinations?
- (ii) Why are these issues considered in the setting of examinations?
- (iii) As an examination official, how do you link the ways in which schools are addressing issues of equal opportunities in education to the examinations set for pupils?
- (iv) How far do the ways used to address equal opportunities in education in schools and setting examinations tie in with Uganda's traditional cultural attitudes to gender?

Interview schedule for respondents in the District Education Offices (DEO).

Research question 1: What has been done so far from the perceptions of key players in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As a DEO how do you feel about equal opportunities in education for boys and girls in your district?
- (ii) In your opinion as a DEO, do you consider that boys in your district have more opportunities in education than girls?
- (iii) In your work and experience as a DEO liaising between the Ministry of Education, schools and the local communities, are you aware of issues concerning gender and equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?
- (iv) How far are you expected to take gender into account in your work as a DEO?
- (v) How far have national policies relating to equal opportunities in education been implemented in your district and at what level?
- (vi) Why do you think equity and equality are important issues in implementing policies in education among boys and girls?

Question 2: In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender, what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As a DEO what part would you like to see schools play in providing equal opportunities in education to boys and girls particularly at the school level?
- (ii) Why do you think schools should play this part?
- (iii) What activities as a DEO have you participated in which show that equal opportunities are being implemented and at what level?
- (iv) How do you think the roles that schools would be playing in providing equal opportunities tie in with Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender?

Interview Schedules for primary and secondary school head teachers.

Question 1: What has been done so far from the perceptions of the key players, in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As a head teacher of a single sex/coeducation school, how do you feel about equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?
- (ii) In your opinion as a head teacher, do you consider that there is a problem between boys and girls in academic performance, which requires an equal opportunities policy to be implemented in your school or others?
- (iii) How far are you expected to take gender into account in your work as a head teacher of your school?
- (iv) How do you address issues of equal opportunities in your school?
- (v) Why do you think equity and equality are important issues in implementing equal opportunities policies in your school?

Question 2: In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender, what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As a head teacher, what part would you like to see your school play in providing equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?
- (ii) What strategies would you like to see your teachers use in addressing issues of equal opportunities in your school?
- (iii) In addressing issues of equal opportunities what changes would you like to see take place among your pupils?
- (iv) How would these gender-related changes be influenced by Uganda's traditional cultural attitudes to gender?

Interview schedule for groups of teachers (male and female).

Question 1: What has been done so far from the perceptions of key players, in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As teachers, are you aware of issues of equal opportunities in education in your classes and the school as a whole? What are the main issues you deal with?
- (ii) As teachers of boys/girls/boys and girls, how do you feel about the provision of equal opportunities in education?
- (iii) In your view as teachers, do you think issues of equal opportunities in education constitute a problem among your pupils?
- (iv) How far are you expected to take gender into account in your daily work in the classroom?
- (v) As teachers, how do you address these issues in your classroom and in the school as a whole?
- (vi) How do you relate them to similar issues within the local communities?
- (vii) Why do you think equity and equality are important issues in implementing equal opportunities policies among boys and girls in your schools and in others?

Question 2: In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitudes to gender, what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As teachers of boys/girls/boys and girls, what role do you envisage schools playing in solving gender-related problem both in schools and at the community level?
- (ii) Why do you consider the school as an appropriate place to address issues of gender?
- (iii) What sort of changes would you like to see take place among your pupils?
- (iv) How would these changes tie in with Uganda's traditional cultural attitudes to gender?

Interview schedule for groups of primary school pupils.

Question 1: What has been done so far from the perceptions of key players, in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As boys/girls attending a school for girls/boys only, school for boys and girls how do you feel about being given equal chances in education for boys and girls? What chances can you think of?
- (ii) In your opinion as boys/girls, do you think that girls/boys are given fewer/more chances in education than you girls/boys in education in your home areas and in the whole country?
- (iii) As girls/boys, do you think that your teachers give more chances to study to boys/girls in your classes and in the school as a whole?
- (iv) As boys/girls, are you aware of things to do with equal treatment between women and men in your homes and nearby areas? How do these things affect you personally and among your fellow pupils?
- (v) In your opinion as pupils, how do your teachers explain things to do with equal treatment between women in men in your lessons?
- (vi) As boys/girls, why do think it is important to give equal chances in education to all boys and girls?

Question 2: In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender, what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education boy boys and girls?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As boys/girls what would you like to see schools do to change the situation so that all boys and girls get the same chances in education?
- (ii) Why do you think schools should make changes to give all boys and girls the same chances in education?
- (iii) What changes do you think will be made in the country, your home areas and in schools if all boys and girls are given the same chances in education?
- (iv) In your home areas and the whole country, how would these changes be affected if:

- boys only and not girls are sent to school?
- girls only and not boys are sent to school?
- if both boys and girls are sent to school?

Interview schedule for groups of secondary school pupils.

Question 1: What has been done so far from the perceptions of key players, in implementing policies and strategies to provide equal opportunities in education for girls and boys?

Specific research questions.

- (i) As boys/girls attending a single sex/coeducation school, what are your feelings about issues of being given equal opportunities in education as boys and girls?
- (ii) In your opinion as girls/boys, do you consider that girls/boys are given more/fewer chances in education than you in schools and by your parents?
- (iii) As pupils are you aware of issues concerning equal treatment between men and women in your local communities? How do they affect you personally and your fellow pupils?
- (iv) In your opinion as pupils, how have your teachers addressed these issues?
- (v) As boys/girls, in a coeducation/single sex school, why do you think it is important to give fair and equal opportunities in education to everybody?

Question 2: In view of Uganda's traditional cultural attitude to gender what role should schools play in the provision of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls.

Specific research question.

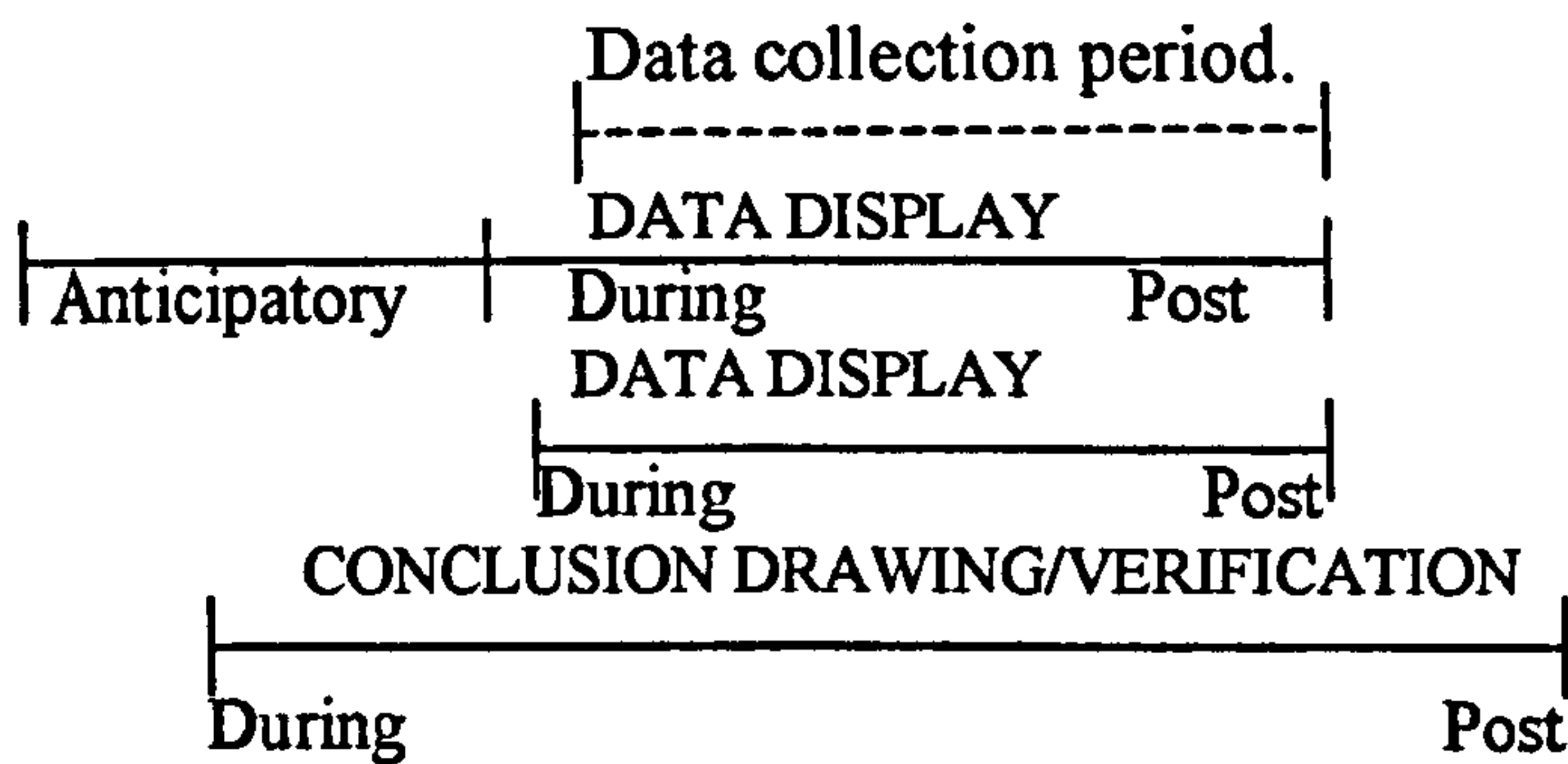
- (i) As pupils, what would you like to see schools do to change the situation so that boys and girls receive equal chances in education?
- (ii) Why do you think schools should bring about changes to give boys and girls the same chances in education?
- (iii) What changes do you hope for if boys and girls were given equal chances in education in coeducation and single sex schools?
- (iv) How would these changed be influenced by traditional cultures in your schools and local communities?

Appendix 5. Table 3.2: The researcher/researched relationship in research.

Researcher.					
Research Population	Age	Gender.	Status.	Area of study.	Cultural norms and values.
CEO: m F	Older than researcher and the issue of age was paramount	More rapport with women because of same sex researching on subject of common interest.	Superiors.	Political influence (gender on political agenda). Men irritable.	Researched implied doing expected duty. Researched showed seniority. Polite. Showed weariness of research(ers).
NCDC m F			Superiors.	Women more sympathetic with study.	Welcoming. Masters in own territory.
UNEB: m f			Superiors		Most hospitable. One of the teachers.
DEO's. m f	same age and younger. no influence.	Men responded positively as well as women.	Colleagues.	Less enthusiastic.	Colleague to be admired.
Head teachers: f m			Teacher/researcher-pupil	sympathetic. reported grievances.	Teacher to be respected.
Teachers: m f	Younger. Teacher-pupil relationship.				
Pupils: m f					

The table summarises the relationship between the researcher and the researched, which may have influenced the data during the research process.

Appendix 6. Figure 3.2: Miles and Huberman’s three-stage procedure.



Source: Miles and Huberman (1994:10)

The above model explains the process of data analysis, which was adopted in this study.

Appendix 7. Table 3.3: MoE level.

	A	B	C	D
(i) Chief Education Officer	m - f	i - ii m	i - ii f	i - ii
(ii) Curriculum Developers	m - f	i - iii m	i - iii f	i - iii
(iii) Examinations Officials	m - f	ii - iii m	ii - iii f	ii - iii

Appendix 8. Table 3.4: District level.

	A	B	C	D
(i) DEO - Masaka	m - f	i - ii m	i - ii f	i - ii
(ii) DEO - Kampala	m - f	i - iii m	i - iii f	i - iii
(iii) DEO - Mpigi	m - f	ii - iii m	ii - iii f	ii - iii

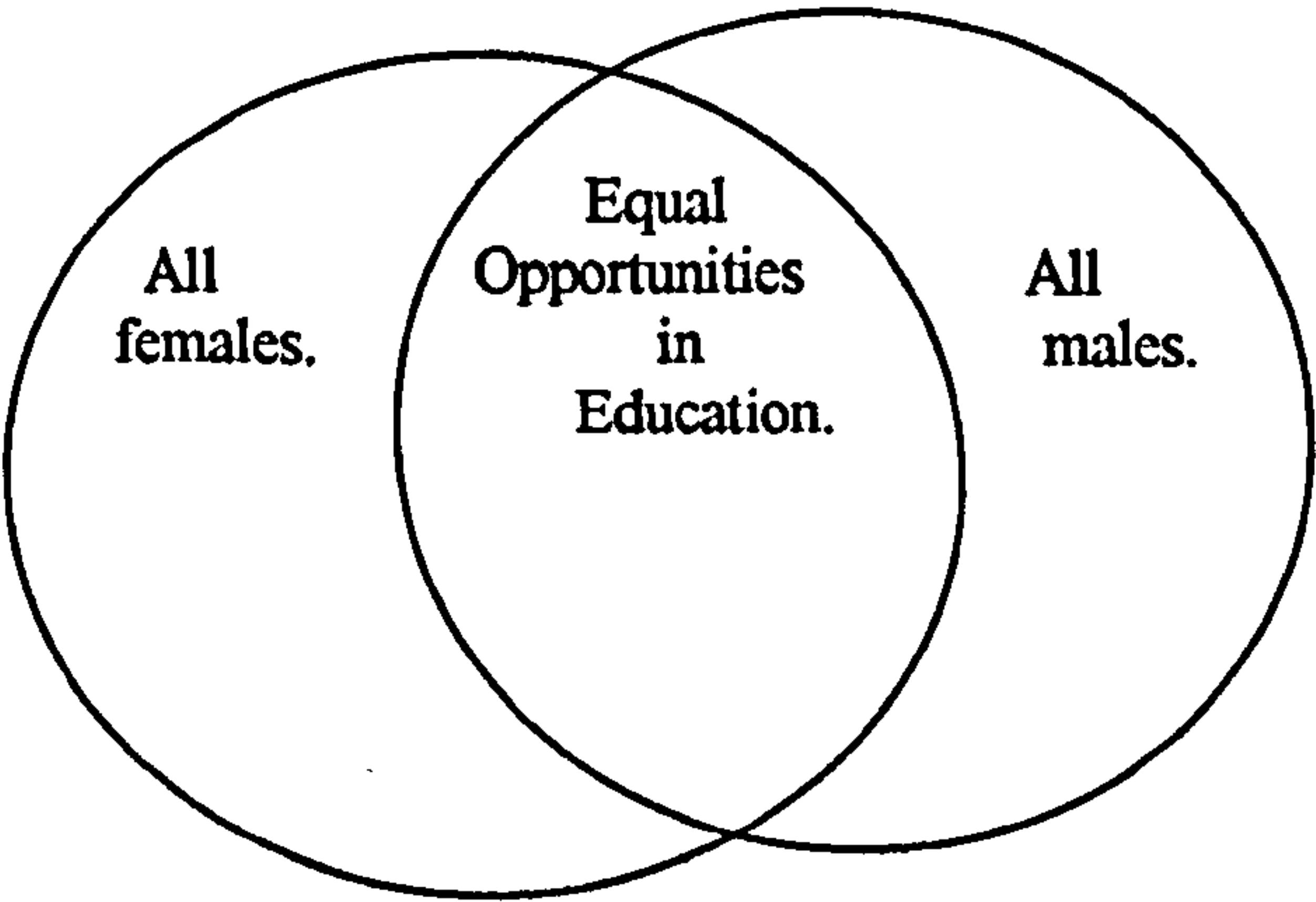
The above two tables show how the constant comparison method was facilitated. The population at the MoE and district levels was categorised by pairs (A), across departments by sex (B and C) and across departments by pairs (D).

Appendix 9. Table 3.5: Categories of the research population at the school level.

Study population	Secondary Schools.	Primary schools.	Coeducation schools.	Single sex schools.
Head teachers.	6	6	8	4
Female teachers.	Six groups (15)	Six groups (20)	Eight groups (30)	Four groups (13)
Male teachers.	Six groups (15)	Six groups (19)	Eight groups (29)	Four groups (11)
Girls	Six groups (23)	Six groups (35)	Eight groups (45)	Two groups (14)
Boys.	Six groups (19)	Six groups (35)	Eight groups (49)	Two groups (11)

The above table shows how the research population was categorised, and the size of the groups and total population of the respondents who participated in the study at the primary and secondary school levels

Appendix 10. Figure 3.3: Categories of research population by sex across all levels.



Model showing how all the data from the respondents were categorised and into males and females at all the three levels where the research was conducted i.e. MoE, district and school levels.

Appendix 11. Table 4.15: List of paradoxes.

Continuing problem.	Strategy implemented to solve problem.	Paradoxes relative to the problem and strategies in Uganda in the light of international policies.
Access.	More grant aided coeducation day schools which are open to everybody.	<p>(a) Facilities for girls are still limited and therefore these schools are more open to boys than girls</p> <p>(b) School policies on pregnant girls limit access to them as there is no government policy on accessibility for pregnant girls and girl mothers. In some schools the boys responsible for the pregnancies are expelled together with the pregnant girls, denying both boys and girls access to educational opportunities.</p> <p>(c) Parents prefer single sex girls' schools as girls perform better than in coeducation schools.</p> <p>(d) While they are cheaper than single sex schools, the high costs of education and parents' dependence on child labour in participating in economic activities which used to put girls at a disadvantage has now shifted to boys. more boys drop out of school to help increase family incomes.</p>
Enrolment.	<p>Affirmative action policies to favour girls.</p> <p>Create more role models for girls by opening up leadership positions and recruiting more female head teachers and teachers.</p> <p>Sensitise parents against cultural attitudes to gender to send girls to school.</p> <p>Local women activists and international organisations championing the increased enrolment of girls.</p>	<p>(a) Seen as discriminatory towards boys and therefore unacceptable e.g. in the examinations policy.</p> <p>(b) Unacceptable to girls as it results in labelling them as non-performers, lowers their self esteem and creates the feeling of a complex.</p> <p>(c) 1/3 of girls in total school population results in inequalities in competition among girls. This means that girls will always disadvantaged by numbers.</p> <p>(d) Denying girls role models as females and males can only head same gender schools except in coeducation schools where either of them can be the head.</p> <p>(e) Educated women used as role models they still conform to the sex stereotyping which is deeply embedded in them and do not encourage girls to come forward.</p> <p>(f) Members of the community who still conform to deep seated cultural values are excluded from the school community because of limited interaction</p> <p>(g) Schools not involved in sensitising the community against negative cultural attitudes towards the education of girls while they enrol girls from them.</p> <p>(h) While there are measures to retain girls within the system of education it is their attitudes towards themselves and education as perceived by the boys, which determines their retention rates.</p> <p>(i) Over stressing of women and girls excluding boys and men breeds discontent among men and boys and results in undermining whatever little may have been achieved.</p>
Retention.	Make curriculum interesting to cater for individual needs of girls and boys.	<p>(a) Subjects to retain girls in schools result in retaining them in the traditional female subject domains instead of making it possible for them to break the sex barriers.</p> <p>(b) Vocationalised curriculum at the primary school level to retain boys may lead to lower enrolment at the secondary school level as many of them will have acquired enough skills for survival.</p> <p>(c) At the secondary school the emphasis is more academic than vocational may leave students with more theory than practical skills.</p>

	<p>Protection of girls through rigid school rules and regulations.</p> <p>Providing financial incentives to parents through Incentive Grants Schemes to enable pay school fees.</p> <p>Put girls on the political agenda.</p> <p>Monitoring and sensitising of girls against pregnancies by senior women teachers.</p> <p>Maintaining rigid discipline in schools.</p>	<p>(d) Female teachers are accused by the male teachers and boys of over protecting girls and putting them in a more disadvantaged position</p> <p>(e) Boys accuse the school administration of creating two single sex schools within a coeducational school and removing all forms of social and academic interaction</p> <p>(f) The girls accuse the school of being too much on them by depriving them of their freedom while boys are left to get away with a lot of things.</p> <p>(g) Leads to lack of interaction between boys and girls so that girls do not get used to boys so that they can improve their self esteem, increase their confidence in themselves and academic competition with boys.</p> <p>(h) While parents are still faced with financial constraints these schemes favour girls more than boys which means that boys' financial problems are not solved leading to their low retention in schools</p> <p>(i) Over stressing of girls by putting them on the political agenda has resulted in the neglect of boys who are increasing dropping out of school.</p> <p>(j) The information provided stresses girls mostly and their physiological and biological development processes and ignores those of a boy who may get involved in the girls' pregnancies.</p> <p>(k) Exonerates parents from playing their role in monitoring their own daughters where as there is a gap in monitoring which is created when the girls are in transit between home and school (implies that the government preferred coeducation schools do not provide adequate protection for girls)</p> <p>(l) The harsh punishments meted out to students drives them out of the school system.</p>
--	--	--

Appendix 12: Table 6.1 (a) Drop outs in Government-aided primary schools by class, gender and district, 1995 (thousands).

Dist'ct	P.1	P.2	P.3	P.4	P.5	P.6	P.7	Total
K'la M	357	270	318	301	278	249	128	1,901
F	275	269	367	300	316	260	110	1,897
Msk M	1,261	899	721	693	610	527	331	5,042
F	1,206	864	731	656	597	594	367	5,015
Mpgi M	1,780	1,206	1,216	1,030	825	750	425	7,238
F	1,668	1,182	1,040	977	912	725	473	6,977

Source: Ministry of Education Planning Unit, Educational Statistics Abstract 1995

Table 6.1 (b) Drop-outs in government-aided secondary schools by class, gender and district, 1995 (thousands).

Dist'ct	S.1	S.2	S.3	S.4	S.5	S.6	Total
K'la M	93	127	79	44	2	38	383
F	68	96	83	27	2	23	299
Msk M	27	43	43	40	0	2	155
F	28	93	40	46	1	0	208
Mpgi M	82	74	62	52	21	35	326
F	98	104	115	111	8	33	469

Source: Ministry of Education Planning Unit, Educational Statistics Abstract 1995.

According to the Education Statistical Abstract (199:15), at the primary school level:

- The drop out rate is almost the same for males and females
- Highest drop-outs in P. for all students but being higher for males
- In P.5-P.7 the rate is higher in females than in males.

At the secondary school level, the Education Statistical Abstract (1995:44) indicates that:

- On average the drop-out rate is highest in S.2. The rate is highest in S.2, 3 and 4 classes especially among females
- The drop-out rate is higher in females than in males for all classes.

However, as the statistics indicate in the three districts of Kampala, Masaka and Mpigi:

- at the primary school level, there are more boys dropping out of school than girls.
- At the secondary school level, while Mpigi and Masaka register more drop-outs among girls than boys, in Kampala there are more boys dropping out of school than girls.